

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XVI

JULY, 1886

No. 1

A NEGLECTED CORNER OF THE METROPOLIS

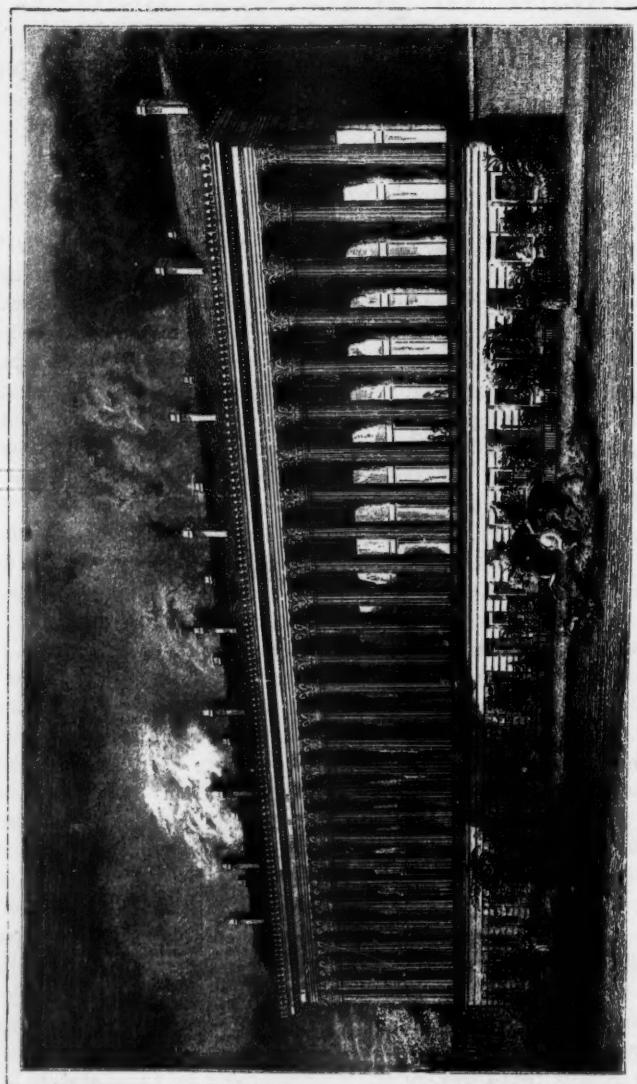
HISTORIC HOMES IN LAFAYETTE PLACE

IN the summer of 1836, just fifty years ago, public interest in New York city centered about a rising row of dwelling-houses in Lafayette Place, that were rapidly approaching completion. The marble used in their construction had been procured at Sing Sing, and the convicts in the State prison had been employed, at very cheap rates, to cut and prepare it before it was brought to the city. This economical transaction had caused, while the work was going forward, a terrific cry of disapproval from the stone cutters, who banded together and paraded the streets with banners, becoming so riotous that military aid was required to preserve peace. To many of New York's citizens, in that interesting period, Lafayette Place was an unknown quantity. It was a new and a very short and dim line on the recently-made city maps. Its existence dated only from 1826, in which year it was opened through the center of Vauxhall Garden, and called by its present name in honor of the Revolutionary marquis, whose late visit to America had nearly turned the American head. It was "two miles into the country," so the newspapers of the day said, and the wise and prudent shook their heads regarding great building enterprises in such a remote locality as very doubtful speculation. Mr. Seth Geer was the man who had the temerity needful for the achievement; he designed and then built this somewhat extraordinary row of houses at his own risk. As he predicted, they were afterward sold at a considerable advance on the original cost. They are described in the *Ladies' Companion* of November, 1836, as follows: "Of all the modern improvements which characterize our city, the sumptuous row of houses in Lafayette Place, called after the seat of the venerable French patriot, La Grange Terrace, is the most imposing and magnificent. These costly houses are universally allowed to be unequaled for grandeur and effect. They are built of white marble, the front supported by a rich colonnade of fluted Corinthian columns, resting on the basement story, which is of the Egyptian order of architecture. When we recollect that the very site now occupied by these stately homes

* Copyright, 1886, by MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB.

VOL. XVI — NO. 1.—I

A NEGLECTED CORNER OF THE METROPOLIS



LA GRANGE TERRACE, LAFAYETTE PLACE.

[*Built in 1836.*]

was but a few years past the seat of the forest and morass, we may well wonder at the advancement we have made, and almost ask in amazement, if this be indeed the city, where, not a century since, the gable-fronted mansions of the Dutch were considered the highest acme of architectural splendor."

A glimpse of the authentic history of Vauxhall Garden will appear further on, but, with all due respect to the writer of half a century ago, we must pause here to deny the foregoing statement that its site was ever a *morass*. The locality was high and dry, so to speak, and its wealth of sand and sand-hills had always been a source of tribulation to the earlier settlers. It was good ground to build on, atmosphere healthful and scenery picturesque, yet, as was supposed, too far away for a whole row of city dwellings! It was really to the New York mind a much greater distance from the centres of business than Riverside Park is now, as there was no rapid transit in 1836, no public conveyance whatever except the stage-coach—and the poor little germ of the horse-car of the future. Fashion, however, was captivated with the idea of elegant seclusion. The little street would probably never be lengthened, and it had a lordly breadth. The rattle and racket of Broadway could reach it only in dreamy murmurs. The "magnificent" terrace would naturally be occupied exclusively by first families in position and wealth. Thus Fashion argued. Handsome private carriages rolled into the new place, observations were made, and presently other building sites were selected. Imposing homes soon arose in close proximity to the Terrace, and all along the stately little avenue. And Fashion calmly took its seat and held it.

Domestic architecture in America was then in a transition state. The effort for strictly scientific architecture, as ineffectually displayed in La Grange Terrace—in later years known as Colonnade Row—was on the decline, it being in no sense an expression of American domestic feeling to devote as much space to porticos and colonnades as to rooms; cheerful homes could never be constructed from reduced copies of the Parthenon. Hence, solidity of foundation, spacious apartments, artistic interior decorations, wide entrance halls, and in most instances a severely bald exterior were the significant features of the other dwelling-houses that followed in the immediate vicinity, but nowhere the world over were city homes ever built more delightfully roomy and comfortable.

In November of the same year, 1836, the corner-stone of the Reformed Dutch Church was laid in Lafayette Place, and the edifice was dedicated on the 9th of May, 1839. It has borne the name of the "Middle Dutch Church" ever since its namesake in Nassau Street was given over to secular

uses. It presents one of the very few examples, remaining in the city, of purely Athenian architecture. Its form is that of a parallelogram, seventy-five feet in width and one hundred and twenty deep. The front is an octostyle portico, surmounted by an angular pediment, including in its range the entire width of the church, and raised upon an elevated platform. The twelve columns are worthy of notice as each one is a distinct piece of granite, not composed of sections as in other instances with shafts of such dimensions. It took more than two score of well-yoked oxen to drag either of the columns to its abiding-place. They are handsomely fluted, their bases finely molded, and the capitals well executed, the neckings carved and enriched with the Grecian honeysuckle. The windows are finished with Grecian architraves, sills, and cornices, sustained by consoles. The old steeple which appears in the sketch has been removed.

It was considered a necessary feature of Christian architecture at the time of its erection, but of a peculiar design quite irreconcilable with correct principles of taste. In 1855, the old historic "silver toned bell" was placed in it, the bell that was cast in Holland, in 1731, at the expense of Abraham De Peyster as a gift to the Middle Dutch Church in Nassau Street when that edifice was new. It was believed that silver coin was used largely in preparing the bell metal. At all events, the bell had a

"silvery ring"—and those who listened to it in modern times thought its music would have been decidedly improved had the Hollanders omitted to throw their silver coin in as stated. During the Revolution this ancient bell was secreted from the British soldiers. It now hangs in the tower of the Reformed Church in Fifth Avenue, corner of Forty-eighth Street.

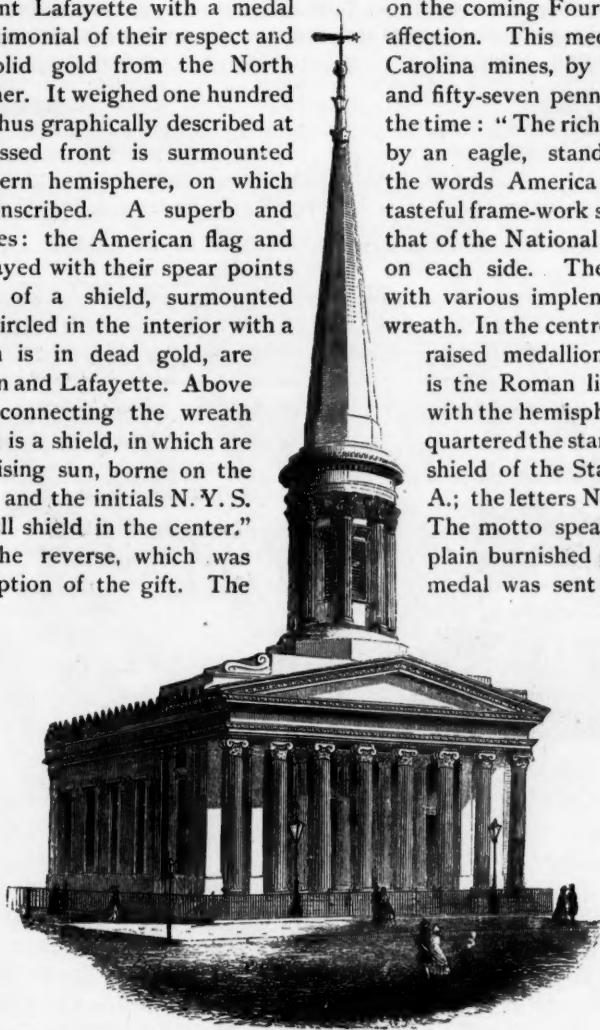
In connection with the naming of Lafayette Place, and of its first imposing block of buildings, it is instructive to note the current of popular feeling in that decade. In 1832, the centennial of the birth of Washington was celebrated in New York with great *éclat*. On the evening of that memorable day the officers of the National Guard—the present famous Seventh Regiment—assembled under Washington's old historic tent



THE SILVER TONED BELL.

that had been pitched in the park with present Lafayette with a medal a testimonial of their respect and of solid gold from the North Brother. It weighed one hundred was thus graphically described at embossed front is surmounted northern hemisphere, on which are inscribed. A superb and devices: the American flag and displayed with their spear points basis of a shield, surmounted and circled in the interior with a which is in dead gold, are ington and Lafayette. Above axe, connecting the wreath neath is a shield, in which are the rising sun, borne on the arms, and the initials N. Y. S. a small shield in the center." On the reverse, which was inscription of the gift. The

military honors, and resolved to on the coming Fourth of July, as affection. This medal was made Carolina mines, by Marquand & and fifty-seven pennyweights. It the time: "The richly chased and by an eagle, standing on the the words America and France tasteful frame-work surrounds the that of the National Guard being on each side. These form the with various implements of war, wreath. In the centre of the field, raised medallions of Wash- is the Roman lictor's battle- with the hemisphere; and be- quartered the stars and stripes, shield of the State, the city A.; the letters N. G. being on The motto speaks for itself. plain burnished gold, was the medal was sent to the care



REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH IN LAFAYETTE PLACE.

of James Fenimore Cooper in Paris for presentation, accompanied by the following letter:

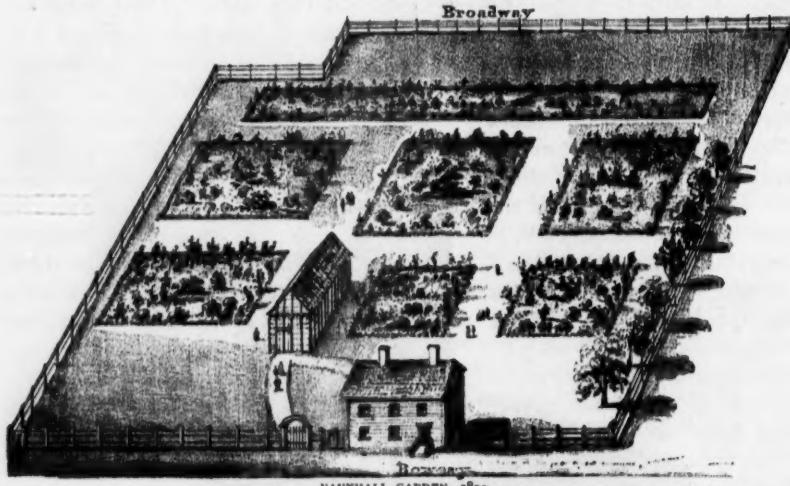
"GENERAL :

The National Guard of the city of New York, a corps of citizen soldiers, have the honor to present for your acceptance the accompanying token of the sentiments entertained by the sons of liberty in America for the dauntless champion of that sacred cause, whose distinguished service in three revolutions, and whose untiring exertions in behalf of the oppressed and enslaved of *every* nation, have raised for the hero, '*monumentum aere perennius.*' With a fervent prayer for your health and happiness, we are, General, your obedient servants,

L. W. STEVENS, *Colonel.*
U. L. SMITH, *Lt.-Colonel.*
J. M. CATLIN, *Major.*

To General Lafayette.

Vauxhall Garden, which was shorn of much of its ancient splendor



VAUXHALL GARDEN, 1803.
From an old Print.

when Lafayette Place was opened through its heart, was for more than a quarter of a century a popular summer resort. It first appears in the city directory of 1799. An energetic Frenchman by the name of Delacroix, formerly a distiller and then a confectioner, founded it, and made it the source of a considerable income. It is described in Mitchell's city guide of 1807 as a "garden laid out with taste; walks agreeably disposed and strewed with gravel, their sides adorned with shrubs, trees, busts, and statues. In the middle is a large equestrian figure of Washington. The orchestra built among the trees gives to the band of music and singing voices a charming effect on summer evenings. Within this enclosure the large apparatus for fire-works, the artificial mound of earth to view them from, the numerous booths and boxes for the accommodation of the company,

refreshments of every kind, and above all the buildings and scenery for dramatic entertainments during the summer season, are all proofs of Mr. Delacroix's zeal and efforts to gratify the public." Balloon ascensions from this garden were quite frequent ; and its visitors regaled themselves at small

tables
liquors, and con-
summer of 1806, July
of the eccentric poet,
made his first appear-
as *Frank*, in "For-
her re-entrée as
young and pret-
evinced talent
actress; but Poe
The season

with fruit, wine,
fectioneries. In the
18, Mr. Poe, the father
Edgar Allan Poe, here
ance in a New York theatre
tune's *Frolic*." His wife made
Priscilla Tomboy. "She was
ty," the critics said, "and both
as a singer and an
was literally nothing."
opened on the 9th of



July
tres in
part of
ing clos-
that date),
of "Animal
great concert.
members of the
Sully, Twain,
Charnock, Stockwell
dames Poe, Placide,
and Dellinger."

(the thea-
the lower
the city hav-
ed prior to
with the play
Magnetism" and a
"The principal
dramatic corps were
Hogg, Poe, Bailey,
and Ringwood, with Mes-
Villiers, Young, Simpson,

THE LAFAYETTE MEDAL.
[From an old print.]

Prior to the birth of Vauxhall Garden this site was the property for several decades of Jacob Sperry, a Swiss gentleman, born in Zurich in 1728. He came to New York at the age of twenty, and although educated a physician, decided, after receiving his diploma, to become a florist. He had means at his command, with which he purchased this then uncultivated tract of pasture land, and established himself as a horticulturist. He built a house near by, where he resided, and reared a family of four sons and five daughters. His grandson, Henry C. Sperry, was born on the estate in 1800. In 1804, Jacob Sperry sold the much improved property to John Jacob Astor for \$45,000, who gave a twenty-one years' lease to Delacroix. Thus it will be seen that the garden itself had been

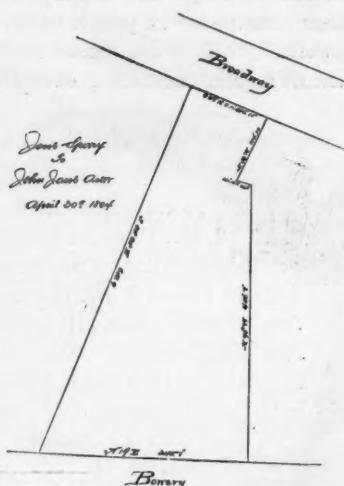


DIAGRAM OF THE ASTOR PURCHASE IN 1804.

flowering and flourishing long before it was converted into a place of entertainment for the public.

Back of all this is a choice bit of history concerning the land, that will interest the curious. It was a plot granted to Anthony Portuges, a free negro, by Governor Peter Stuyvesant before the English conquest of New York. Governor Nicolls, in 1667, prefaced a series of confirmations of ground briefs in the following language : "Whereas, there was heretofore, that is to say, in the years 1659 and 1660, several grants made by the Dutch Governor, Petrus Stuyvesant, unto certain free negroes, for several small parcels of land lying upon the Island Manhattas, along the highway, near unto the said Governor's bowery," etc.—Lib. 2, pp. 119-132. These confirmations were then entered with minute descriptions, boundaries, etc. There were nine of the plots, and they extended from Art street—now Astor Place—to Prince street. It seems that the ground briefs of the Dutch governors were conveyed in the name both of the States General and the West India Company, and, in view of the phraseology of the third article of the surrender of 1664, were indisputable sources of title either with or without a confirmation.

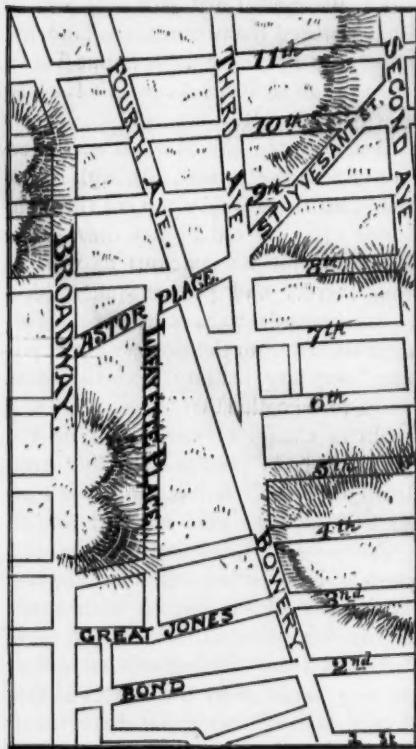
Before and during the Revolution the nearest neighbor of Jacob Sperry on the north was Andrew Elliot, Collector of the Port of New York under

the crown, from 1764 to 1783, who held furthermore the office of superintendent general during the war, and with the mayor and a magistrate of police administered the civil government of the city; he was lieutenant-governor of New York appointed by the king from 1780 to 1783; and the governor from April 17 to November 25, 1783, succeeding Robertson. He was the third son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, Baronet, Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland. His famous country estate embraced many acres, the land extending from Art Street to the edge of the Brevoort farm, about Tenth Street, and east and west from the Bowery road to Fifth Avenue. He also had a city home of no little elegance in Pearl Street.

The mansion he built near Ninth Street, on the site of what was afterward Stewart's dry goods store, fronted the Bowery road, although it was so far back from that dusty thoroughfare that Broadway, when cut through, clipped its rear porch. It was fashioned after an old French *château*, its geography most bewildering, and was notable for its spacious as well as numerous apartments, its odd-looking turrets and picturesque gables. It was painted in æsthetic yellow. Its grounds were elaborately cultivated and very attractive. It was approached from the Bowery road; but Sandy Lane hovered along its southern boundary, leading from the Stuyvesant homestead through what was soon to be called Art Street, and in a winding route across the island to the little village of Greenwich, on the Hudson. While the Revolutionary war was in progress this beautiful home was the resort of all that was distinguished in civil and military New York. Lord Cathcart, afterward earl, was in 1779 here married to Collector Elliot's daughter Elizabeth. The wife of Lord Stirling, who was the sister of Governor William Livingston, of New Jersey, with her daughter Kitty, were in New York by special permission of the British authorities, and the guests of Mrs. Robert Watts during the month of August, 1778. They were entertained, despite the fact that Lord Stirling was an officer in the Continental army, on more than one occasion by the Elliots at this country seat, the young ladies of the two families being intimate social friends. It so happened that Lady Kitty was married to Colonel William Duer, at Baskinridge, New Jersey, in 1779, about the same time that Miss Elliot became Lady Cathcart. Another daughter of Andrew Elliot married James Jauncey, one of the founders of the New York Chamber of Commerce. This splendid Elliot property was owned and occupied by Baron Poelnitz at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, who sold it in 1790 to Robert Richard Randall, the founder subsequently of the "Sailors' Snug Harbor" charity. It was his dwelling-place until his death in 1801, when it was given by his will for

the support of aged, infirm, and worn-out seamen. He directed the building of an edifice within the grounds, but his executors found the land increasing rapidly in value, promising an immense revenue, and decided that the legacy would better serve the poor sailors if the Home itself was located elsewhere rather than in the centre of a great city. Thus, after much consideration, it was, in 1833, erected on the northern shore of Staten Island. As the estate could not be sold, long leases were given for building purposes—even Stewart's great store stands on leased ground.

A portion of Vauxhall Garden was appropriated for amusement purposes for some years after Lafayette Place was improved. Many persons now living remember its antique entrance from Broadway, and, later still, its leafy attractions at the corner of Fourth Avenue and Eighth Street. Much is forgotten in a half-century. One eminent gentleman tells us of the pretty country places along the Bowery road below Fourteenth Street, with their hedges and flower-gardens, as they appeared to his boyish eyes before Fourth Avenue was cut through from the Bowery to Union Square. He describes the sand hill that Broadway encountered near Ninth Street, and demolished in its northerly



MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF LAFAYETTE PLACE.

course—it was lowered some ten feet—and tells how the corporation left the work for a long time in a rough and unfinished condition, and that on one occasion he was overturned in a carriage while passing that way in returning from the opera.

While Broadway and Fourth Avenue in their progress, with the cross-streets between, were holding a jubilee of destruction—pretty farm-houses, stables, fruit orchards, flower-gardens, rear porches and lover's

walks tumbling promiscuously into the mass of ruins, from which money was to spring forth, growing like the golden trees in the fable, to enrich posterity—Lafayette Place was quietly making for our readers this little chapter of history. Three churches, flying from the crowded city below, lighted and lifted their spires within its borders, adding immensely to its reputation for respectability. St. Bartholomew's (Episcopal) Church was opened for worship in 1836 on the opposite side of the way from the Middle Dutch Church. It had seventy-three members, and the Rev. Charles Vernon Kelley was its rector. He was succeeded by Rev. Dr. Balch in 1838. The church grew rapidly, and its congregation was soon quoted as one of the most wealthy and fashionable in the city. The edifice was the scene of more weddings during the first thirty years of its existence than any other of its time. Rev. Dr. Cooke succeeded Dr. Balch, and is still the rector of the same church organization, now worshiping in a new structure on Madison Avenue, corner of Forty-fourth Street. The site of the old church building in Lafayette Place is at present occupied by the Roman Catholic Mission of the Immaculate Virgin.

A quaint little church edifice belonging to the Presbyterians was, in 1842, brought, stone by stone, from Murray Street, where it had stood since 1812, and re-erected in Eighth Street, fronting Lafayette Place. Its first pastor had been Rev. John Mason; its second, Rev. William Snodgrass, from 1823 to 1832; its third was Rev. Thomas McAuley, who occupied the pulpit from 1833 to 1845. The building was then leased successively to several church organizations, and finally, in 1849, to the "Church of the Mediator," under the rectorship of Rev. Francis L. Hawks. A few years later the Catholics bought it, and organized St. Ann's Parish, under the charge of John Murray Forbes, D.D., an Episcopal divine, who, in 1849, in company with Doctors Newman, Manning, and others, entered the Church of Rome, and who, ten years later, returned to the Protestant Episcopal Church and was subsequently appointed dean of the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. He was succeeded in St. Ann's Church by Right Rev. Mgr. Thomas S. Preston, V. G., also an Episcopal clergyman, who became a Roman Catholic at the same time as Dr. Forbes, and who was made a priest in 1850. He was soon afterward appointed vicar-general and chancellor of the diocese of New York, and is distinguished as an author. When the building became too small for St. Ann's increasing congregation it was abandoned and given over to secular uses.

Among the historic homes in Lafayette Place that of William B. Astor, directly opposite La Grange Terrace, is one of the oldest and most

interesting. He had a large household, and the mansion seems to have been designed with special reference to the perfect comfort of every individual member. Its broad front, as shown in the sketch, was well balanced by corresponding depth. Its decorations were elaborate. This beautiful, old-fashioned residence was the scene, in its palmy days, of many handsome and memorable dinner-parties and balls. In the rear was a bright-colored garden, a commodious stable, and a private riding gallery built by Mr. Astor for the exclusive use of his family. One of the curiosities of the house is a mammoth safe, built into the foundation, which, during the Wall Street excitement of 1861, was the recipient of money from the banks to the amount of millions, brought up in trunks from the lower part of the city for safety. During a long period Mr. Astor could have been seen every morning at nine and one-half o'clock in Lafayette Place, walking with alacrity to his office in Prince Street. He was devoid of ostentation, tall, well formed, gentlemanly and polished though retiring in his manners, and always faultlessly dressed. His wife was the accomplished daughter of General Armstrong, of Revolutionary renown, and a descendant through her mother of the Livingstons and Schuylers, of colonial New York. After her death Mr. Astor removed to a house in the upper part of the city.

The severely plain-looking granite home of the Sands family, adjoining that of Mr. Astor, will be observed in the sketch. It was built by the well-known merchant, Austin Ledyard Sands, nephew of Joshua Sands—Collector of the Port from 1799 to 1801—and a step-son of General Ebenezer Stevens. One of the distinguishing characteristics of this gentleman was that he never wore an overcoat at any season of the year or in any weather. Of his sons, who grew to manhood under this roof, were Dr. A. L. Sands, the Newport physician; Samuel Stevens Sands, a Wall Street banker, who married the daughter of Benjamin Aymar; and William R. Sands, who married the daughter of Hon. Samuel B. Gardiner, proprietor of Gardiner's Island.

The homes in La Grange Terrace were singularly attractive for more than a quarter of a century. Nearly all of them possess elements of national interest, and each one would furnish valuable material for a chapter of history. Washington Irving spent several winters at number 33 with his relative, Irving Van Wart, who made that house his dwelling-place. Mr. Van Wart was a descendant of one of the captors of Major André, and his son married the daughter of Marshall O. Roberts. The house, number 43, in the northern end of the row, was the home of Hon. David Gardiner, whose beautiful daughter Julia was married from there in 1844.

to John Tyler, President of the United States, the only instance in American history of a President's marriage during his term of office until the recent nuptials of President Cleveland. The engagement of President Tyler had been kept a profound secret for some three months, and no one but the immediate relatives and friends witnessed the marriage ceremony



LAFAYETTE PLACE HOME OF MR. WILLIAM B. ASTOR.

The Home of the Sands Family.

at the Church of the Ascension, in Fifth Avenue, corner of Tenth Street. The wedding breakfast was served in the Gardiner home in La Grange Terrace, after which the President and his bride drove down Broadway in an open barouche drawn by four white horses, and embarked for Washington on a ship of war in the harbor. The public knew nothing of the wedding, nor even that the President was in the city, until enlightened by

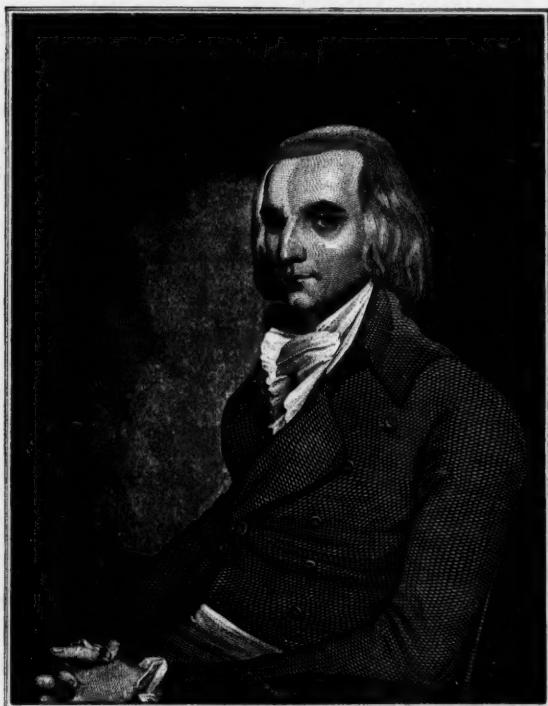
the guns of the forts and shipping as he departed. Those who saw him driving with his bride did not awake to consciousness until they read the newspapers next morning. Julia Gardiner had, not long before her romantic marriage, returned from Paris, where she and her father had received marked attention, and had been presented at the French Court. Her father was one of the six gentlemen instantly killed by the explosion of a gun on the steamer *Princeton*, near Mount Vernon, while on a pleasure trip down the Potomac by invitation of the President.

The home of Governor Edwin D. Morgan, reverently remembered for his efficiency in raising and equipping the 220,000 troops New York contributed to the defense of the Union in our late war, stood next door to that of Washington Irving. At the exciting period of his election to the gubernatorial chair he was forty-eight years of age, tall, well proportioned, and a vigorous thinker as well as actor in public affairs.* He had already been ten years a State senator, and after serving from 1859 to 1863 as governor of New York, was elected to the Senate of the United States, remaining there six years. In 1865 he declined the secretaryship of the Treasury, offered him by President Lincoln. During a part of his public career, when not in Albany or Washington, he lived in historic Lafayette Place. The house adjoining Governor Morgan's on the north was the home of John Jacob Astor, the eldest son of William B. Astor. Under this roof was subsequently founded the Columbia Law School. The next house beyond was the residence of Franklin H. Delano, a partner in the great house of Grinnell, Minturn & Company, and a son-in-law of William B. Astor. The home of Mrs. Mactier, whose daughter married the son of the rich importer, David Hadden, stood between those of Delano and Gardiner. At Number 45 lived Colonel Bayard Clarke, at one time member of Congress, whose beautiful island at Schroon Lake is so well known to tourists in the Adirondacks. His northerly neighbor in Lafayette Place was an English gentleman, Matthew Wilks, the husband of one of Mrs. Walter Langdon's daughters, who has a stately mansion and large estates in Canada, known as "Cruickston Park." Later on, this Lafayette Place home was occupied by the Russian Consul, Mr. de Nottbec, whose wife was also a daughter of Mrs. Langdon. Mr. de Nottbec went out riding one morning, and was thrown from his horse and instantly killed. In a large house at the end of the terrace lived the distinguished physician, Dr. John F. Gray. He was a spiritualist, and had a seat placed every day at meals for his deceased wife. The property belonged to Charles Astor Bristed, grandson of John Jacob Astor, who subsequently made it his home. He is best

* *Magazine of American History*, vol. xiv. pp. 288.

remembered as an eccentric *litterateur*, writing under the name of "Carl Benson." He married the daughter of Henry Brevoort, and, after her death, one of the notable Sedgwick ladies of Stockbridge.

On the corner of Astor Place, with its imposing doorway and frontal in Lafayette Place, was the fine old-fashioned brick mansion built by John



JOHN JACOB ASTOR, 1763-1848.

The Founder of Astor Library.

Jacob Astor, the elder, for his daughter, Mrs. Walter Langdon. Its drawing-room was finished in carved wood. It had a grand ball-room, decorated in white and gold, with Watteau figures on the panels, and an entrance hall of princely breadth lighted from stained-glass windows, and one of the handsomest staircases in the country. A high wall, both in the rear and at the side of the dwelling, shut the beautiful grounds from

the street. Mrs. Langdon after awhile went abroad to live, and never returned to New York. Her son, Eugene Langdon, who married the daughter of Rawlin Lowndes, occupied the house; they were the parents of the celebrated beauty, Miss Marion Langdon. Mrs. Eugene Langdon subsequently married Major Philip Schuyler. Woodbury Langdon also resided here for a time. His wife was the daughter of Isaac C. Jones. Walter Langdon, the younger, who married Catharine Livingston, built the house on the opposite side of Lafayette Place, now standing next to Brokaw's clothing store, where he dwelt for many years; his house was hedged in on the south by Disbrow's Riding School, where the young men and maidens of thirty years ago learned the art of riding; and where a large horse, made of boards and painted for a sign, was the admiration of the children of the period. Langdon was a leader in social life, and now owns the old Hosack place at Hyde Park on the Hudson. Francis R. Boreel, a Dutch nobleman, who was chamberlain to the King of Holland, married Sarah, the eldest daughter of Mrs. Walter Langdon, and took up his abode in the old Langdon home for a few years. When he returned to Holland, Madame Boreel became attached to the Queen's household, and on intimate terms with her Majesty; and their children all married into the nobility. This Langdon home, which, like a mirror, seemed to reflect the personality of its inhabitants, passed away about the year 1875, and upon its broad site, as if in natural sequence, arose a curiously significant institution. The property had been purchased by Orlando B. Potter, who erected a monster building, seven stories high above ground, and two stories below the surface of the street, that was immediately occupied by the great printing establishment of J. J. Little & Co. Thus the soil so prolific in history sustains the complex machinery by which history is placed monthly before millions of readers in every part of the land. Here the art of printing has been studiously cultivated, and brought to a degree of excellence rarely if ever before reached, as exemplified in the typographical beauty of *The Magazine of American History*, with its exquisitely printed historic illustrations — proof positive that an artistic sense may thrive among whirling presses as well as in the studio.

John Jacob Astor, whose remarkable career had shaped the destiny of Lafayette Place, died in 1848. Every intelligent American is familiar with the story of his arrival in New York in 1783, at the age of twenty, and of the consummate skill with which he thenceforward carved his own fortunes, independent of capital, connections, or influence, until he became the richest man of his day in the United States. His investments in city

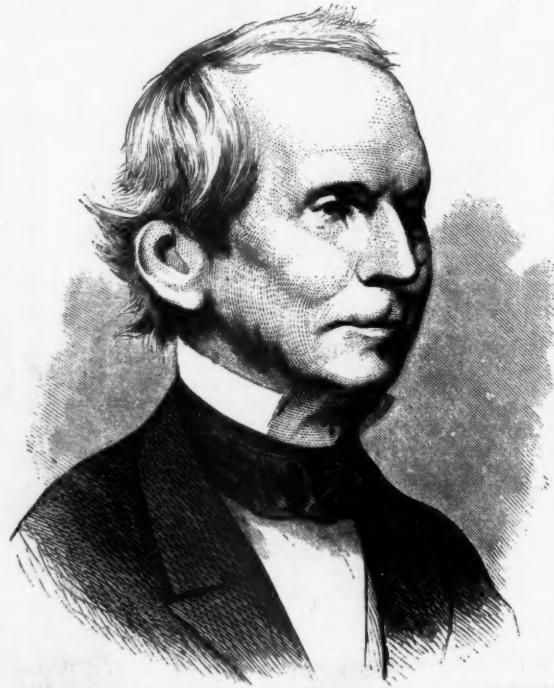
real estate doubled and trebled on his hands; his wealth increased in similar ratio to the growth of New York, and his means contributed immeasurably to the growth of New York. He was a man of interesting personal appearance, his serious features bearing the impress of genial sagacity. He was fond of the society of eminent and scholarly men,



THE ASTOR LIBRARY.
Original Structure, 1853.

entertained them at his house, and discussed with them the needs of the American public: such men, for instance, as Washington Irving, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Henry Brevoort, Daniel Lord, Samuel Ward, Samuel B. Ruggles, James G. King, and Joseph G. Cogswell, the learned editor of the *New York Review*. His will contained a codicil in these words: "Desir-

ing to render a public benefit to the city of New York, and to contribute to the advancement of useful knowledge and the general good of society, I do by this codicil appoint four hundred thousand dollars out of my residuary estate to the establishment of a public library in the city of New York." The instrument then gave specific directions as to how the money should be applied, and appointed by name eleven trustees, including, in addition to the gentlemen before named, the mayor of the city, the son



JOSEPH G. COGSWELL, LL.D.
First Superintendent of the Astor Library.

of the donor, William B. Astor, and the grandson, Charles Astor Bristed. Washington Irving was the first president of the trustees, and Mr. Cogswell superintendent of the new institution. The edifice, sixty-five feet front by one hundred and twenty deep, was built of brown stone, in the Byzantine style of architecture, and was completed in May, 1853. Although in name a city institution it was soon found to be more truly national than any other library in the country. This was owing to the character of its books,

the manner in which they could be consulted, and the location of the library so near the great thoroughfare, Broadway, rendering it accessible to strangers at all seasons. The report of how its treasures have been used in the preparation of books, essays, maps, etc., by investigators from afar would astonish the New Yorkers who regard this library as a local institution. Dr. Cogswell, in making the various departments so well suited to the wants of scholars in the pursuit of exact knowledge, visited all the book-marts of Europe, spending several years in the work of selection, and executing the responsible trust with taste, skill, and wisdom.



ASTOR LIBRARY, 1859-1879, WITH THE TWO SECTIONS.

In 1855, the trustees were presented with the adjoining lot, eighty feet front, by Mr. William B. Astor, who proceeded to erect a second edifice at his own cost, similar in most respects to the existing structure built by his father. This was completed and opened in 1859. The munificent gift of \$50,000 for the purchase of books soon followed; and by will, in 1875, a bequest of \$249,000 bore testimony to the interest with which the son of the original founder regarded the institution. He gave in all about \$550,000. In 1879 his son, John Jacob Astor, grandson of the first John Jacob Astor, contributed to the enduring monument by presenting three lots, in all seventy-five feet front, to the trustees, and building thereon the

third section of the great library in uniformity with its two predecessors. To avoid a long monotony in the general exterior effect of the three sections combined, the successive gifts of father, son, and grandson, an additional story was added to the central part, of a Mansard pattern, solely for ornament, and a heavy balustrade was carried along over the other cornices, surmounted by vases and pedestals of brown stone. The main entrance hall was constructed in the center of the building, with a new staircase of white marble. The approach from the sidewalk was also remodeled with much taste. The outlay of the grandson, exclusive of the land, was some \$250,000. Thus this great beneficence, bringing within reach of the American people a rare and diversified collection of standard works, literary and scientific treasures, a blessing to the present and all future generations, has cost the Astor family considerably over \$1,000,000. John Jacob Astor, the grandson, was one of the Union Defense Committee in 1861, and served in the late Civil War as an aid to General George B. McClellan, attaining the rank of brigadier general, by brevet. He married the daughter of Thomas S. Gibbes, a lady who is familiarly known for her personal and substantial interest in many of New York's most important charities. Their son, the Hon. William Waldorf Astor, has served as a member of the Assembly and Senate of his native state, as minister to Italy from the government of the United States, and has recently distinguished himself as a successful author. The present Astor Library, with a front of one hundred and ninety-five feet, was opened to the public in 1881, with two hundred thousand volumes, and a shelf capacity for three thousand. The class of books that have always been in demand here reveals the wide range the public mind is taking in thought and research. The educational influence of such a library may be partially appreciated by remembering that it benefits some sixty thousand readers annually. During the last year the number of readers has increased to upward of seventy-two thousand. The books are all to be read within these walls—it was never intended as a circulating library—but it is accessible to the whole community, and to visitors from every part of the world without fee or formality. Dr. Cogswell's successor in the superintendence of the institution was Francis Schroeder. After him came Dr. E. R. Straznický; he was succeeded by the Hon. James Carson Brevoort, one of the trustees, who resigned in 1876, and Mr. Robbins Little was appointed in his stead. The librarian is Mr. Frederick Saunders.

The alcoves are fruitful in historic associations. Here Washington Irving was often to be found; and for years Horace Greeley's inkstand, pen and paper decorated the table reserved for his use. Almost every notable

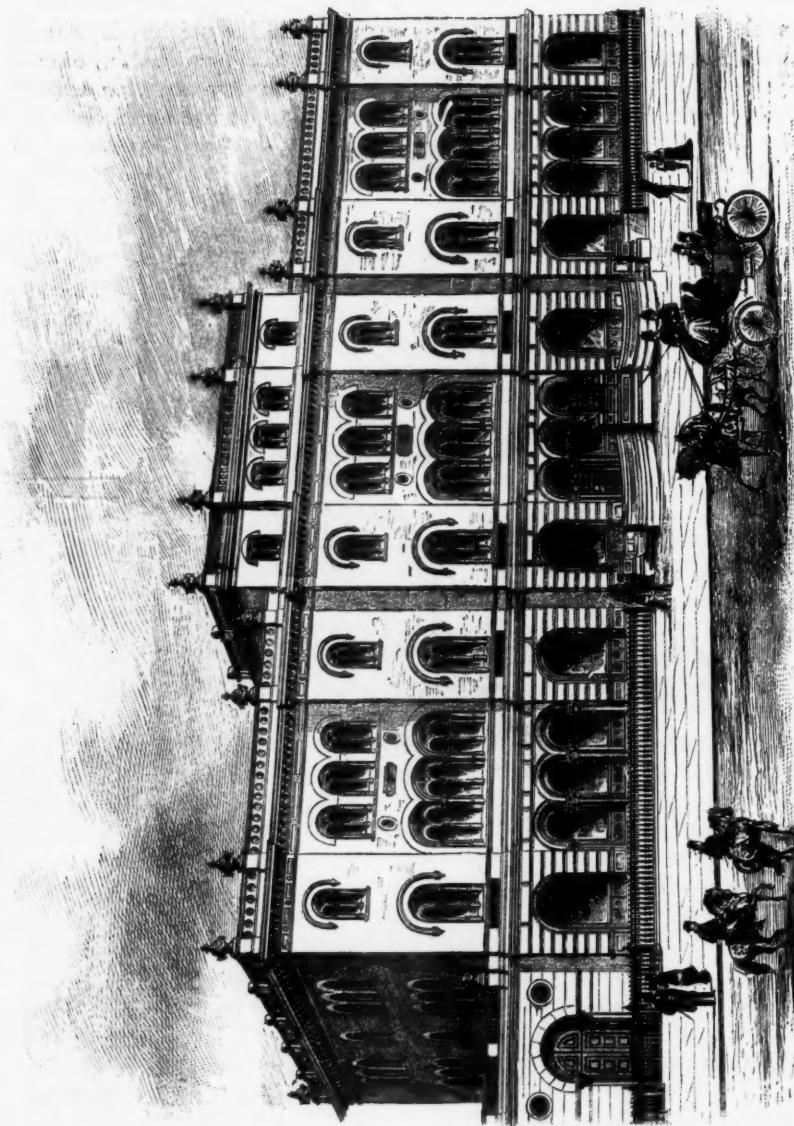
writer in the country has in one way or another left his foot-prints here. One alcove has its odd story of being haunted ; and the neighboring Sands mansion has also its ghost, which in former times had a curious way of frequenting the library, as if seeking congenial companionship, on winter evenings whenever the eminent Dr. Cogswell chanced to be alone.



WILLIAM B. ASTOR.

The Donor of the Second Section of Astor Library.

Alexander Hamilton, grandson of the statesman of that name, is now president of the trustees of Astor Library. His associates are: John Jacob Astor, treasurer; Professor Henry Drisler, LL.D., secretary; and Hon. Hamilton Fish, Dr. Thomas M. Markoe, Hon. John L. Cadwalader, Bishop H. C. Potter, S. Van Rensselaer Cruger, George L. Rives, Robbins Little, and the mayor of the city.



THE ASTOR LIBRARY OF THE PRESENT.
With its Three Sections.

When Lafayette Place was in its glory it was shaded with beautiful trees on both sides. Next to St. Bartholomew's Church lived the distinguished Dr. Alexander H. Stevens, President of the College of Physicians and Surgeons; and the most southern house of the Terrace was the home of his brother, Byam K. Stevens, who married the daughter of Albert Gallatin, the great financier. Here the sons of the latter, Alexander H., Byam K., and Frederic W., were reared to manhood. It was said of Benjamin L. Swan, the old-school gentleman who built the large, double, brick house next to and south of the Terrace, in 1841, and resided in it until his death, that he always was more polite than the person he was with and it was amusing to see him sometimes hat in hand talking to a beggar, for he never would be outdone in civility. His son-in-law, Charles N. Fearing, afterward occupied the mansion. The house of same age or thereabouts, separated from that of Mr. Swan, only by a carriage-way, was built by David Thompson, who held numerous important monetary trusts in Wall Street, was for some years vice-president of the Bank of America, and president of the New York Life Insurance and Trust Company. He was the son of Jonathan Thompson, Collector of the Port of New York, and his wife was the daughter of John Lyon Gardiner, the seventh lord of the manor of Gardiner's Island. Next below was the dwelling of the merchant, William Chauncey, treasurer of the New York Historical Society; then came the home of Wyllis Blackstone; while number 19 was occupied by Mrs. John S. Tooker. Madame Canda's French boarding-school for young ladies, which flourished here, was noted for being one of the best and most fashionable institutions of its kind in the city. Madame Canda's beautiful daughter was thrown from a carriage and killed while returning from a ball, and her parents spent the money which was to have been her marriage portion in a remarkable monument, familiar to all visitors at Greenwood Cemetery.

The home of Adrian Iselin, the wealthy banker, whose wife was the daughter of General Columbus O'Donnell, of Baltimore, stood next to St. Bartholomew's Church. His daughter became the wife of De Lancey Astor Kane, who deserves a place in history for having introduced modern coaching into this country. This same house, number 6, was distinguished at a later period as the residence of Charles O'Conor, the great lawyer. His wife, as Miss Livingston, had been considered a great beauty. Her first husband, McCracken, died in Africa. At number 12 lived Dr. Gustavus A. Sabine, the notable physician, father of Rev. William T. Sabine. Upon the site of Dr. Sabine's house has recently arisen the great building of De Vinne, whose fame as the printer of the *Century* is as wide as the magazine itself. Near by for many years dwelt Gabriel Mead, whose wife

was a sister of Gouverneur Bibby, and Thomas W. Pearsall, whose daughter married Edwin Thorne, of Thorndale. John Milhau, the druggist, lived for many years in number 41; he was born on the island of Hayti, where his father owned extensive plantations, but was obliged to flee at the time of the rising of the negroes when the French were expelled. A. T. Stewart wished to purchase this house, and offered him three or four times what it was worth, but was refused. Milhau said that Mr. Stewart had not money enough to buy it. His son was a medical director in the regular army. The home of the well-known Dr. Jared Linsky, who was Commodore Vanderbilt's physician, is the handsome brick house, number 22. Thus the homes of three physicians of note have been identified with the prosperity of Lafayette Place. At number 24 lived the Quaker millionaire, Samuel Willetts. He would start for his place of business every morning, summer or winter, at seven o'clock, return to dinner at noon, and then go back to his counting-room, and remain until six o'clock in the evening. Adjoining Mr. Willetts' was a handsome dwelling, replete with the elegancies of life, that of Jacob R. Le Roy, a man of fashion, who was celebrated for his fine horses and equipages. He was related to the Livingstons, and finally bought the old Livingston manor-house on the Hudson, and resided there for some years before his death. The same house in Lafayette Place is now the delightful home of Hon. Orlando B. Potter. At number 28 lived George Ferris, whose son commanded the old City Guard. John Carey, son-in-law of John Jacob Astor, had a pleasant residence in the Terrace. The edifice at present occupied as Routledge's publishing house was the attractive home of Henry Mason and his fashionable family. One of his daughters became the wife of Heyward Cutting. Number 7, just beyond, was the residence of Christopher R. Robert, widely known for his benefactions. He was the founder of Robert College, Constantinople, and of a large school on Look-out Mountain, near Chattanooga. The palatial home of the Schermerhorns in Lafayette Place stood on the corner of Great Jones Street. It was furnished in a costly style, and was the scene of many notable entertainments. The newspapers of 1854 chronicled a fancy dress ball given there by Mrs. Schermerhorn as "conspicuously magnificent." It was, as the cards of invitation stated, a *bal costume de riguer* of the reign of Louis XV., a period distinguished in French history for the remarkable beauty of the costumes worn at court. It was the first time that a ball of this description had been given in this country. The invitations were issued four weeks before the appointed day, and, in accordance with the rules, none attended except those who were in the prescribed attire. No ex-

pense was spared in preparing for the occasion. In many instances six and seven hundred dollars were paid for the simple dress, exclusive of jewelry. The lace on the dress of one lady guest alone cost fifteen hundred dollars. Many of the ladies who could not otherwise secure the services of Martel, the famous coiffeur and hair-dresser, had the artistic work of hair-dressing performed the day before, and slept in chairs, that the mountain of beauty upon the head might not be disturbed before the time came for its exhibition. The gentlemen were compelled to part with mustache and whiskers, in compliance with the custom of the Court of Louis Quinze. They nearly all appeared with court swords, and "some of them absolutely sparkled with diamonds." The chroniclers were evidently bewildered with the novelty, and for once used more ink in describing the costumes of the gentlemen than those of the ladies. We cannot forbear quoting one or two paragraphs for the amusement of the reader of to-day—thirty-two years afterward.

"Mr. M—e, sky blue velvet coat, elegantly embroidered with silver; diamond buckles; rosette of blue ribbons with diamonds; powdered head.

"Mr. S—n, crimson velvet coat, embroidered with gold; white brocade vest, embroidered with flowers; crimson velvet breeches and chapeau.

"Mr. S—ff, coat of royal purple velvet with diamond buttons; star on left breast made of diamonds; knee buckles also of diamonds; wig powdered; lace ruffles, white cravat of lace; white vest, with diamond buttons and embroidered with gold. This costume, diamonds included, cost, it is said, seventeen thousand dollars."

Some idea of the brilliancy of the *fête* may be formed from the fact that, the costumes altogether cost between forty and fifty thousand dollars, as was estimated at the time; and the jewelry worn that evening was worth half a million. The mansion was richly decorated and embellished in the style of the reign of Louis XV., and so strict was the enforcement of the rules that even the servants were dressed in the costume of the period.

In the immediate vicinity of Lafayette Place, as well as within its charmed limits, were clustered many homes of exceptional interest during the historic period of which we are writing. Mr. Maturin Livingston, Mr. Cottenet, and Stephen Cambreleng lived in Great Jones Street; Mayor Philip Hone, Mr. Charles H. Russell, Joseph Sampson, and Hon. Dudley Selden, in Broadway, close by; and John David Wolfe, at the corner of Astor Place and Broadway. An Opera House was erected in Astor Place, in 1846, which was thronged as soon as opened by the *élite* of the community. In the spring of 1849, William Charles Macready, the English actor, was on a farewell visit to the United States, and it was announced

that he would appear in *Macbeth* on a certain evening, at this place. Edwin Forrest, the American tragedian, had not been well received in England a few years before, owing to the alleged influence of Macready, and as Forrest was extremely popular with a certain order of people in New York, the spirit of retaliation was easily provoked. A howling mob gathered in Astor Place to drive Macready from the stage during the performance of the play. The Opera House was filled with one of New York's best audiences; but disaffected persons were distributed through the building, and no sooner did Macready appear on the stage than he was greeted with hisses, and a shower of eggs, chairs, and other missiles. The utmost confusion and terror prevailed, ladies crept under the seats for safety, the police made a few arrests, order was temporarily restored, and the play proceeded. By this time the mob outside numbered some twenty thousand, extending far back into Lafayette Place, and it was composed of the worst class in the city, with piles of paving-stones at hand, where the street sewers were being repaired, to be used as deadly weapons of warfare. Three hundred policemen were driven back after a gallant struggle to disperse the angry rioters who were making violent attempts to force the entrances to the Opera House. Doors and windows were hurriedly barricaded from within, but assailed with terrible fury, some of the paving-stones passing through the glass and lighting in the midst of the assemblage. It was a wild scene never to be forgotten by the pallid-faced ladies and gentlemen who momentarily expected the resistless multitude would burst into the building. In this fearful emergency the Seventh Regiment was summoned by the civil authorities, and at nine o'clock appeared in Astor Place, preceded by mounted men ten abreast. The volley of stones which met them rendered the horses unmanageable, but the citizen soldiers marched bravely forward in platoons, through Astor Place to Third Avenue, then back, driving the mob from Eighth Street, throwing a guard of police across at each end, and moving through Broadway a second time into Astor Place. With howls and cries the stones were flying in every direction, many persons were injured and some killed, and all efforts to appease the infuriated multitude proved fruitless; thus authority was given to fire. The first volley was purposely aimed high, but not the second. Seventeen persons were killed instantly, and others died soon after from their wounds. Then pressing hard upon the flying mob the troops soon cleared Astor Place. The rioters rallied after a few moments and returned to the attack, but a third volley scattered them, completely ending the riot and liberating the imprisoned audience. The city was disorderly for the next three days and the military were constantly on duty. Fifty or

sixty of the rioters were wounded, and not less than twenty killed. Of the gallant Seventh Regiment one hundred and fifty of the officers and men were seriously injured by the stones, seventy of whom were carried to their homes—but subsequently recovered. Judge Robert Emmet, son of the great lawyer, Thomas Addis Emmet, assisted Macready to escape



THE OPERA HOUSE, ASTOR PLACE.
Home of the Mercantile Library.

from the Opera House, and secreted him in his own dwelling in Clinton Place, for two days and nights, then drove him disguised in his own carriage to New Rochelle, and thence to Boston, whence he sailed for England.

Not long after the riot the Opera House was purchased and remodeled for the uses of the Mercantile Library, which had been founded in the winter of 1821 with seven hundred volumes, and since 1830 had occupied Clinton Hall, corner of Nassau and Beekman Streets. This hall received

its name from De Witt Clinton, who gave the first book to the library—a *History of England*. The new Astor Place home, also called Clinton Hall, was opened April 19, 1854, with interesting ceremonies, and addresses from Governor Seymour, John Romeyn Brodhead, the historian, and President King, of Columbia College. This location was then considered the best in New York for the promotion of the welfare of such a library; and for more than one full generation it has steadily progressed in usefulness, containing at this writing two hundred and seven thousand volumes, with a reading-room including all the chief publications of our own country and of Europe.

Lafayette Place has been conspicuous as the starting-point for innumerable parades and processions, some of them historical in their consequences, through its convenient situation and comfortable breadth. Here the Seventh Regiment, "bowered in flags and streamers, amid outbursts of cheers and songs, and fresh tears and farewell gestures from the overlooking windows," formed on that eventful 19th of April, 1861, for its march to the war; and here the Orangemen formed and started on the 12th of July, 1871—a parade that ended in a serious and memorable riot.

But the historic houses in Lafayette Place, formerly graced by brilliant assemblages of fair women and brave men, have not, like those in Wall Street of an earlier date, been converted, when Fashion became uneasy and moved on, into great monetary institutions, nor, as in some other patrician quarters, transformed into furniture salesrooms and milliner shops. The intellectual character of this locality has been, through all the process of change, grandly sustained. Scholars and book-worms, in constantly increasing numbers, have been attracted to Astor Library, and an epidemic of literature, so to speak, has swept through the length and breadth of the quiet and attractive little Place. It has broken out literally with periodicals. The *Churchman* occupies one of the historic homes in the Terrace; the *Christian Union* is issued weekly from another historic dwelling, which is also the abode of Frederick Warne & Company, the London agents of the *Century* magazine; the *Critic* drew inspiration for a successful career from "talking walls" in the same historic atmosphere; and the *North American Review* and the *Magazine of American History* together occupy, with their editorial and business offices, the antique Sands mansion, which appears in the picture on page 13, adjoining the historic home of Mr. William B. Astor. Thus, guarded by its two libraries, the Astor and the Mercantile, with the New York Society and Historical libraries and the Bible House and Cooper Union just outside, as if on picket duty, and its two great printing-houses of Little and De Vinne,

with prominent publishers on every side, not only within, but just beyond its borders—as, for instance, Routledge, Johnson, the Appletons, Baker and Taylor, Scribners, Cassell, Armstrong, Dodd and Mead, Orange Judd, Ivison, Blakeman and Taylor, and a host of others—Lafayette Place is becoming in fact as well as prophecy the literary and publishing centre of the metropolis.

It is possible that to the average New Yorker of to-day Lafayette Place is almost as much of an unknown quantity as it was to the citizen of fifty years ago; to those who are on the wave of hurry and bustle, whether of business or pleasure, with no pressing needs for the consultation of books of reference, and no overmastering desire for knowledge beyond that already attained in the school-room and from experience in life's affairs, the whole story of the career of this little corner of the metropolis will undoubtedly be new. But, on the other hand, a not inconsiderable portion of the oldest and most cultivated element of the community have been in one way or another associated with the life of Lafayette Place during its distinguishing period of more than one-third of a century as the "Court End of the town," and thus are familiar with its scenes and incidents, and ready at all times to add to its delightful reminiscences. And strangers who visit the city from every part of the known world never think of leaving it until they have seen, among its most important features, the Astor Library, irrespective of any desire they may have to study within its halls and alcoves. The locality can never be divested of its varied and peculiar historic charms.

Martha J. Lamb

THE DONGAN CHARTER OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

ITS TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY

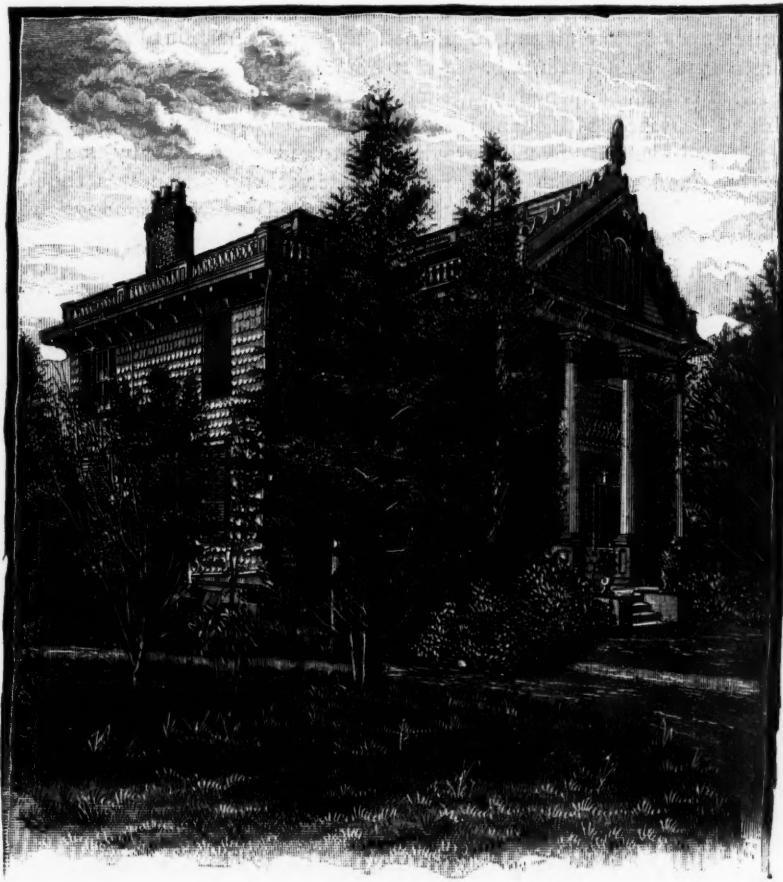
The most dramatic event in the history of New York occurred in September, 1664.

Four English ships, in the bay, on which were five hundred soldiers, trained one hundred guns against the little Dutch Fort of New Amsterdam, then in a dilapidated condition, and commanded by hills within pistol shot. Connecticut colonists, under John Winthrop, and English settlers from Long Island, both always hostile to the Dutch, swelled the invading force.

Transports were landing troops just below Breuckelen; and arms glistered from float and barge, as the invaders crossed the bay. Stuyvesant, the stout and war-worn director, with his two hundred and fifty men and a few rounds of powder, still determined to strike a blow for his province; and, standing on one of the outer bastions, pointed his guns at the hated ships. Men, with matches lighted at his side, ready for the signal to fire! A throng of the notables—*Burgomasters, Schepens, and Burghers*—pressed about him, begging him to surrender, and exhibiting the hopeless condition of the little city. Finally, Dominie Megapolensis and his son, imploring the director not to commence hostilities, which must end in destruction, led him, between them, protesting and sorrowful, from the ramparts.

With arms fixed, drums beating, colors flying, and matches lighted, according to the honorable terms of capitulation, the Dutch soldiers marched down Beaver Lane to the water-side; thence to embark for Holland; there to gain glory in its defense against Louis XIV. and his invading hosts. The Dutch tricolor came down; and, that evening, the red cross of St. George and the white cross of St. Andrew, combined in the Union *Jacque*, waved over the fort, which then became Fort James, "New Amsterdam" became "New York," and England became mistress, all along the Atlantic coast, from Acadia to Florida.

At a last session of the Magistrates, a plaintive lament went over from the *Stad Huys* to *Vaderland*, addressed "To the Right Honorable prudent Lords, the Lords Directors of the Honorable West India Company." The memorial relates the history of the siege, and concludes thus: "Meanwhile, since we have no longer to depend on your honor's promises or protection, we, with all the poor surviving and abandoned commonalty here,



THE DONGAN MANOR-HOUSE, STATEN ISLAND. ERECTED 1688.

From a photograph, through the courtesy of Mr. A. de Groot.

[The oak frame of this house was hewn from the forests near by, the date in white paint being marked upon one of the rafters in the roof; it was built near the west line of the Dongan Patent. The document bears date March 31, 1687, which granted twenty-five thousand acres to Colonel John Palmer, who conveyed the same property back to Governor Dongan on the following day; and this estate was erected into "the lordship and manor of Cassiltowne." The house was afterward externally modernized in some slight degree, but chiefly with "adornments."—EDITOR.]

must fly for refuge to Almighty God, not doubting He will stand by us, in this sorely afflicting conjuncture, and no more depart from us. And we remain your sorrowful and abandoned subjects. Done in Jorck, herebefore named Amsterdam, A.D. 1664, 16 Sep."

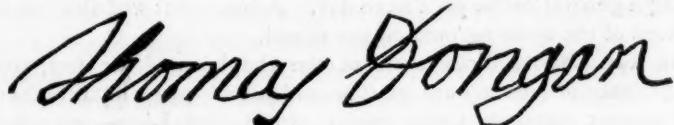
All this had happened in a time of peace between England and the United Provinces of Holland: but the Duke of York desired to take possession of the magnificent province bestowed upon him by his royal brother; and a surprise, *vi et armis*, by a secret expedition, was the plan adopted. The powers given by the King to the Duke were, among others, to raise and command armies, to establish tribunals, to legislate, govern, and rule, with almost despotic sway. After the surrender to the English, the little city, with a sigh after "*Patria*," as they called it, and sorrow for her desertion, settled down, peacefully, under its first English Governor, Nicolls, until occurred another crisis in its history. The Dutch captains, Evertsen and Binckes, cruising along the coast from Virginia in July, 1673, caught Governor Lovelace napping, and uncovered their guns from seven ships of war against the fort. The picture is now reversed. Down to the water-side march Captain Manning and the English troops. Down Broadway to the fort (having landed above) march the Dutch, with Captain Colve and his storming party, who find the gates open. The English flag goes down, the Dutch tricolor waves in the breeze, and, for a year again, the *Schout*, *Burgomasters*, and *Schepens* resume their lucubrations in the *Stad Huys*; and the little city, under its changed name of "New Orange," again sternly bristles against New England and transatlantic foe. Again abandoned, however, by the mother country, New Nederland, by the treaty of Westminster, is ceded to Great Britain. Governor Colve is succeeded by Major Edmund Andros. New Orange becomes New York, the Dutch no longer possess New Nederland, and a new patent was issued to the Duke, with similar powers as in his first one.

Under the early Dutch rule, there was, at first, little thought given to charters and privileges: the colonists were kept busy in the contest with nature and the aborigines, and their import trade required continuous industry. The directors sent over by the Dutch West India Company, and their Councils, made and dispensed the laws, sitting both as a legislative and judicial body. In the year 1641, however, the national spirit for political freedom began to manifest itself, and a body of men selected by heads of families was called upon to advise with the director. This advisory body continually asserted itself; and in 1643 made direct appeal to the home government, and then and subsequently clamored so loudly for a free representative Burgher government, based upon the Dutch municipal

system, that such government was conceded to New Amsterdam, in 1650, the magistrates whereof were to be elected by and represent the people. Under the English rule, although nominally subject to the laws of England, the Duke's power over the province was supreme ; and his Court of Assizes promulgated laws and ordinances, with the making of which the people had no part, but which depended on the duke's approval.

About this time, however, there was quite an awakening in mens' minds as to their natural and political rights. The Dutch Republic was a standing exemplar to free thinkers on political subjects : the decapitation of Laud, Strafford, and King Charles had taught rulers the dangers of oppression ; the Roundheads had demonstrated that the commonalty had spirit and power ; new dogmas had been sown broadcast by Puritan and by Quaker ; and the great principles of liberty of conscience and of political freedom had become familiar. Men were beginning to think for themselves and no longer through rulers and ecclesiarchs, and old systems showed a coming disintegration. In the twelfth year of the reign of Charles II. the feudal system and its abuses were practically repealed, by an act of Parliament, which turned feudal tenures into those no longer subject to military rule or the will of a lord. The *habeas corpus* act, without which the provisions of *Magna Charta* were powerless, was also enacted in 1679. Jury trials also were assuming new characteristics, and the vetoes of monarchs were more sparingly used.

The greatest province in America, however, was still governed with an iron hand ; but the spirit of self-assertion was extending, and the political thoughts of both Batavian and Anglo-Saxon colonists began to take definite form. It has been observed of the colonies of England that they are always growing and increasing ; and do not become, like those of Latin races, mere stagnant imitations of the mother country, crystallized from

A large, flowing cursive signature in black ink, appearing to read "Thomas Dongan". The signature is written in a single continuous line with fluid, expressive strokes.

the start; but progressing, and always with an increasing desire to form institutions for self-government. The tendency of all the northern colonies of America, particularly, was for freer institutions. The proprietary government of the Duke of York had not been marked with important event, save the Dutch occupation for a year, when, succeeding Governor Andros, Colonel Thomas Dongan was sent over by the duke to represent him.

Thomas Dongan, born in 1634, was a younger son of an Irish baronet,

Sir John Dongan, of an ancient Irish Roman Catholic family. He was a nephew of Richard Talbot, the roysterer of Charles' Court, subsequently made Duke of Tyrconnel and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. There were nine sons and three daughters of the Dongan family, which was one of influence and was a strong partisan of the house of Stuart. While serving as colonel of an Irish regiment in the French service in 1677, under a peremptory order that all English subjects should quit France, Colonel Dongan, on forty-eight hours' notice, was compelled to leave that country with large arrears of pay due him. On his return, having influential friends, he had a pension of £500 accorded to him, and was made lieutenant-governor of Tangiers; and, in 1682, was appointed to the important post of governor of the Province of New York. His elder brother was an ardent adherent of James, and was created by him Earl of Limerick with a reversion of the title to Thomas. Dongan's commission, issued in September, 1682, comprehended a vast territory, embracing part of Maine, extending also from the west side of Connecticut River to Delaware Bay. He arrived in New York on the 25th of August, 1683, and began the exercise of his important functions.

The little city, during Dongan's earlier administration, contained less than 4,000 inhabitants, and was mostly confined within the bay and the line of intrenchments and "stockadoes" that ran along Wall Street. Broadway extended, then, as far as the Park or Common, and beyond followed the line of Chatham Street. From the Collect Pond, in Centre Street, a great marsh extended north-west, toward the North River, of over seventy acres; and between the upper Boweries and the village of Harlem, which had remained exclusively Dutch, extended a great wood, through which roamed wolves and sometimes Indians and bears. Indeed, so active were the wolves that Governor Dongan issued a proclamation ordering a general *battue* on a fixed day. A bear hunt was also one of the diversions of the sporting men on the island.

The Rev. Charles Wolley, one of the chaplains of the fort, gives us his experience of such a hunt, in 1680, which took place in an orchard between present populous Cedar Street and Maiden Lane—and which, he records, gave him "great diversion and sport." "When the bear got to his resting-place," he says, "perched upon a high branch, we prudently dispatched a youth after him, with a club, to an opposite bough, who knocked his paws—he comes grumbling down, with a thump upon the ground—and so, after him again." As the sporting dominie recounts that he had neither gun nor weapon, but simply "*a good cudgel*," it is doubtful, according to Riker, the historian, whether the bear was dispatched as

well as the adventurous youth. The city was defended by the Fort James, with walls and bastions then in a crumbling state. There was a "half moon" before the old Stad Huys at the foot of Coenties Lane, one at Old Slip, and one at the foot of Wall Street, at the "water gate." There were also the dilapidated defenses along Wall Street, and a curtain at the land gate, at the junction of Wall and Broadway. There was also "Pasty Mount" at the foot of Exchange Alley. These little fortifications were all in bad order, and were manned with the miniature guns of the day called "demi-culverins," "seekers," and "minions."

The population was mixed—the Dutch element still much predominating, and a great variety of tongues were spoken. There was little harmony of feeling; and Dongan reported that "the people grow more numerous daily, and are of a turbulent disposition." In a report made by the governor to the Board of Trade a few years later, he enumerates the various sects in the city. "New York has a chaplain belonging to the fort, of the Church of England; secondly, a Dutch Calvinist; third, a French Calvinist; and, fourth, a Dutch Lutheran. Here be not many of England; a few Roman Catholics; abundance of Quaker preachers, men and women; Singing Quakers, Ranting Quakers; Sabbatarians, anti-Sabbatarians; some Anabaptists, some Independents, some Jews; in short, of all sort of opinions there are some, and, the most part of none at all."

With the presence of the recent English governors, Nicolls, Lovelace, and Andros and their suites and the officers of the garrison, the social life of the city had become more aristocratic, and the Dutch burghers had somebody to imitate. Furniture, dress, and buildings all showed a change. Many French Huguenots also had come to the colony, driven from France by the persecutions under Richelieu. In 1689 there were over two hundred French families in the city. Many had come from the West India Islands; while during a period of seven years, wrote Dongan, only twenty families had immigrated from Great Britain.

Besides the few English and West India vessels that traded to New York, the commerce was carried on by nine or ten three-masted vessels, of eighty to one hundred tons, and three barks of forty tons, and about twenty sloops of twenty-five tons. Five of these sloops traded up the river with Albany, Kingston and Esopus—the three other principal towns of the province.

Hitherto, the administration of governmental affairs in the Province was arbitrary. There was no representation of the people in law-making or taxation. But now there came a change. Among Dongan's instructions was one to call together a General Assembly, of not over eighteen elected

freeholders. All laws, however, were still to be made subject to the approval of the Governor and the Duke.

The doctrine of a representation by the people, in government, had long been a conceded right among the English people. In Anglo-Saxon days the Free-folk appeared, by representatives, at the Shire Courts. Although the feudal system of the Norman conquerors entrenched somewhat upon the more democratic Anglo-Saxon system, all persons holding any lands were entitled to attend the County Courts. In the twelfth century the great towns began to cease being mere demesnes of king, abbot or lord, and became invested with local rights and franchises. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the towns, although not incorporated, had obtained by "FINES" the right to elect their own officers; but it was not until under Henry VII., in 1493, that the towns, ceasing to be under the rule of trade guilds, were recognized as corporated communities with perpetual local rights and succession. Under Charles II. there was a tendency to bring the charter of towns more under the control of the Crown; and many of the old charters were deranged in their principal features. It seems, therefore, somewhat strange that James, who was a man of arbitrary ideas, should have made the concessions he did to the people of his Province; but there were many indications of discontent. The people were of a mixed and turbulent character; and, in 1670, Huntington, Jamaica, and other towns on Long Island had refused to pay taxes unless they were represented; and the question was agitated, whether the Revenue laws were legal, as imposed. All this caused the Duke of York to comply with the general feeling, although it was contrary to the views of the House of Stuart to make concessions: and he had instructed Governor Andros, in 1673, that any concessions would be unnecessary and dangerous.

In accordance with the Duke's instructions, in October, 1683, the new Assembly called together by Dongan, hastened, as its first act, to enact what was termed the "Charter of Liberties and Privileges." This act provided for the election of members of Assembly, every three years, by a popular vote of the freemen of the corporated towns. It also declared liberty of conscience and of worship for all who professed faith in God by Jesus Christ. It also provided that no taxes were to be imposed, unless by act of the Governor and *Assembly*. Thus, the principle of taxation only by consent was initiated, as a law of the land, under Governor Dongan.

This "Charter of Liberties and Privileges" and other acts of the Assembly were confirmed by the governor; and the charter remained in force until set aside by James when king. The Duke, in October, 1684, it is said, signed and sealed this charter; but did not send it over to the

Province. This great concession to public opinion in New York was received with enthusiasm and acclamation. It was solemnly proclaimed at the City Hall before the assembled multitude, to the sound of trumpets in the presence of the governor and his council, the representatives, the aldermen, and other magnates of the city.

But the proprietary period of New York was now to close, and it was to become a Royal Province. James came to the throne in February, 1685, under circumstances that favored the exercise of his naturally despotic and arbitrary will. He now ruled his colonies as mere appanages of the Crown, and not as settlements of English subjects with constitutional rights. In the former reign, the influence and power of the Crown, under reaction from former license, had humbled the popular party and arrested progress. James, too, as king, with his hard, obstinate, and cruel nature, wanted to make everybody think like himself, and was opposed to liberalism in politics. The charters of many of the towns, including London, were now revoked by a pliant judiciary, or the citizens were intimidated into surrendering their charters, in order that the Crown might grant new ones of a more oligarchical character, and thereby secure the nomination of officials who would influence the election of members of Parliament favorable to the Crown. By this means James secured, at first, a pliant Parliament, and began quietly to overthrow the English constitution; and, probably, if it had not been for the abhorrence of Papal ascendancy in England, he would have succeeded.

When the Duke of York became king his rights, as a subject proprietor, were merged in his sovereignty, and he thought differently as king than he did as proprietor. He accordingly sent word to the governor and council in New York that he did not think fit to confirm the Charter of Rights and Privileges above mentioned, and in terms revoked it. The last Assembly under the charter had adjourned in September, 1685: and thus ended, for a time, free government in New York. Directions were also sent to Dongan that the liberty of the press was to be restrained—no person was to keep a printing-press—and nothing was to be printed without the governor's license.

We come now to what is known as the Dongan Charter of 1686, the two hundredth anniversary of which occurred on the 22d of April last. This is the notable grant of rights, privileges, and estate to the City of New York, which substantially founds its present civic *status*.

Soon after Colonel Dongan's arrival in November, 1683, the mayor and commonalty sent in a petition reciting their ancient privileges, under Governor Nicolls, and praying for the division of the city into wards, and

for the election of aldermen and other minor officials, and also for a grant of vacant lands on the island. The governor seems to have had the matter long under consideration, and probably it was referred to the duke. An answer making some objections to the petition was returned in March, 1684. In April, 1684, the charter, as amended, was read and allowed by the governor in Council. There were further delays, however; instructions being probably waited for from England; and a new petition was sent in. Finally, the charter was granted and promulgated.

There had been theretofore granted a short charter, by the first English Governor, Nicolls, in 1665, constituting the city as a body politic, under a mayor, aldermen, and sheriff, and confirming the terms of surrender, by which liberty of conscience and worship was accorded; and the inhabitants were to retain their lands and goods and customs of inheritance; and certain magistrates were to be chosen by the people. This charter from Governor Nicolls, under the change of sovereignty, was probably deemed abrogated. Besides, it was informal and not extensive.

The venerable instrument termed the "Dongan Charter" bears date on the 22d of April, 1686. It recites that New York is "an ancient city; and the citizens of said city have, anciently, been a body politic and corporate; and have had various rights, grants, and immunities, under several governors, and under the Nether Dutch Nation; and have received the same, either under the name of *Schout*, *Burgomasters* and *Schepens*, or in their name, as Mayor, Alderman, and Commonalty." After other recitals, the charter confirms all prior grants, liberties, and franchises made to the city. There is specially mentioned, as confirmed, the right of the city to its City Hall or State House, two market-houses, the bridge into the dock, the wharves or dock, the new burial-place out of the city gate, and the ferry from the city to Long Island.

There is also a grant of all the streets and highways, for the public use, and a right to lay out others. Prior grants to inhabitants are also confirmed. An important grant is also made to the city of "all the waste, vacant, patent and unappropriated lands on Manhattan island, extending to low water-mark, and of all waters, creeks, &c., not theretofore granted." Hunting and mining privileges are also conferred, for which one beaver skin is to be rendered annually. Jurisdiction is given over all the Island of Manhattan and its waters, to low water-mark. The city officers are determined to be a mayor, recorder, town clerk, six aldermen, and six assistants, a chamberlain, a sheriff, and some minor officers. The aldermen and assistants are to be elected by the people annually, one from each ward. The mayor, sheriff, and town clerk are to be appointed by

the governor, and the city is made a body corporate and politic, under the name of "the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of New York," and is to have perpetual succession; with power to get, receive, and hold, lands, rents, liberties, franchises, and chattels, and to transfer the same. The charter also gives to the mayor, recorder, and aldermen the right to hold a court for common pleas, for cases of debt and other personal actions. Out of the grants made, the Fort (James) is excepted, and a piece of ground by the gate called the Governor's Garden; "and the land without the gate called the King's Farm—with the swamp next to the same land, by the fresh water." As to the localities named in the charter—the dock was the only landing-place of importance in the city and extended from the present Broad Street to Whitehall Street, along the East River; the ferry was that from the foot of the present Peck Slip to "Breuckelen;" the new burial-place was at the present Trinity Church-yard: the church was not then erected. The Governor's Garden adjoined it, and extended from Broadway to low water-mark. The King's Farm extended at that time from Fulton to Chamber Street; subsequently extended, this King's Farm was granted to "Trinity Church," and has been the great bone of contention between that institution and the invincible heirs of Mrs. "Anneke Jans,"—"one of the few immortal names," as has been grimly remarked, "that were not born to die."

The charter was a voluminous document, and is full of local matter interesting to the city; but space will not allow of a more extended review of it. It is still to be seen at the City Hall, inclosed in a tin box, where it is carefully treasured. The parchment is as complete and the



THE GREAT SEAL.

writing as legible as on the day it was written ; and with it, but now detached by time, is the venerable seal of the province, having on it the Lion, the Irish harp, the Thistles, and the *Fleurs de lys* ; with these is the legend of the Order of the Garter, and " *Sigillum Novi Eboraci.*" To the document is appended, in a bold hand, the signature of the fourth governor of New York, " Thomas Dongan." Endorsed on the charter are two receipts for beaver skins, as quitrent, one dated as late as 1773. The Common Council passed a vote to present the sum of £300 to the governor on receiving the charter. The secretary also received £24. All this was done openly, and probably was credited by the governor in his accounts with his government, he being obliged to raise his salary out of the revenues.

Perhaps it was singular that the Dongan Charter should be granted, when, at the same time, James was restricting all governmental power except his own, and was carrying on a general attack on chartered rights. Partiality for the province bearing his name may have been a motive ; and, perhaps, a desire to keep the mixed population peaceably disposed, so that there might be no trouble about his revenues—and, as he still preserved the law-making power absolutely, the concession of a municipal government for local purposes was not a matter of much importance to him.

The subsequent colonial charters to the city were those of Governor Cornbury, who, in 1708, granted ferry rights and the East River bed, up to the low water-mark on the Brooklyn shore, and that of Governor Montgomerie, in 1730. The latter recited in full and confirmed the Dongan Charter, with additional grants and powers. As regards Governor Edward, Viscount Cornbury, who was a cousin of Queen Anne, a curious anecdote has come down to us. He often used to dress in female attire, in the full fashion of the period, fan and all, and so promenade about the fort. The comical reason assigned for this masquerade by the eccentric governor was that, as he represented a *female sovereign*, it was quite proper that he should assume a female costume.

The above charters have been ratified and confirmed by various acts and subsequent charters passed by the New York Legislature. There are various changes, however, as to the mode of election and the numbers of the city representatives. Recent events, and perhaps the experience of the last thirty years, have shown that it is no longer wise that each ward should elect its own aldermen. That system, under a broad, elective franchise, gives too wide a scope for low electioneering systems ; and wise thinkers are of opinion that the Board should be elected on a general ticket made up of citizens at large, and not necessarily inhabitants of any particular ward.

By the views of the courts, as first expressed, it was determined that the City Corporation, besides having a political and ministerial constitution, and, as such, subject to legislative action, which might change its political or governmental powers, had also a distinct existence as an individual body, with rights of property and authority over such property,



*Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury.
afterw. 3rd Earl of Clarendon.*

which could not be disturbed except through the constitutional provisions that affect all the citizens of the State. The modern legal doctrine, however, is, that whatever title or estate the City Corporation may have in the streets, lands, or public places, it is held by them for the use of all the people of the State, and, being *publici juris*, is vested in the Legislature, as representing the whole people; and is subject to all such uses, for pub-

lic purposes, as the Legislature may determine. Under this view, the Legislature has so claimed and so extended its power over the city franchises and property, that the city has virtually no control over them. This is too complex a question for present discussion. Perhaps, in view of the manner in which the city government has been administered, it is not unwise that the Legislature should have had tacitly conceded to it a supervisory or controlling power.

Among the notable events during the period of Dongan's administration was the Declaration of Indulgence of 1687, by James II. This was promulgated in New York, and not only authorized public worship by any sect, but repealed all religious tests as qualifications for office. In April, 1688, the second Declaration of Indulgence was issued, the prosecution of the bishops for not reading which cost James his crown. Dongan's duties as governor of the great Province of New York were no light ones, and his place was no sinecure. He had to govern a rather restless community, composed mostly, as he reported, of "strangers." He had to watch and ward over a large territory. He had to counteract the efforts at encroachments by Penn, who was continually trying to secure possession of that part of the province on the upper Susquehanna. The boundary between New York and Massachusetts was also a constant source of trouble. He had to protect his northern frontier from the incursions of the French, who were continually either intriguing with or attacking the Five Nations. These tribes were allies of England and under its protection; but their alliance was difficult to maintain. The boundaries of Canada, too, were a continual subject of diplomatic protest and discussion, and even of actual warfare. In a petition for pay of arrears, sent by Dongan to Parliament after his return to England, he relates how the French, in 1686, exasperated at the Five Nations taking the side of the English, with an army of 3,000 men marched into the Indian country, burned their villages and took many captives. That he, Dongan, thereupon raised three or four hundred Christians, and joined them with 2,000 Indians, which he had dispatched into Canada, and that the combined force burned and ravaged the country, destroyed crops, killed many, and took 500 prisoners. That the State revenues being small, he was obliged to mortgage his lands and sell his plate and furniture; and that the war lasted a year and a half, during which he disbursed £10,000, almost his whole fortune.

The rival trade of Connecticut and New Jersey was also a source of anxiety; and there was a continual problem to collect sufficient revenue from trade and taxes to meet the expenses of government, which were always in arrears. The charters of the towns, too, had to be renewed,

and many of the private patents and old quitrents were to be collected. The governor was also active in suppressing pirates and sea-rovers, many of whom came to New York or to New England to refit or to dispose of their booty. There was a long controversy, too, between Dongan and the collector of the port. The latter made charges of taking perquisites and for sharing with privateers against the governor; but the collector's charges were not sustained, and he was subsequently removed for defalcations. In answer to the above charges, the governor denied that he had been niggardly, and says, in his statement, that "I have been so put to it to make things doe, that what small perquisites I have got I have disbursed; and I have pledged my credit and pawned my plate for money to carry on the King's affairs."

After a wise and just administration of his trust, Governor Dongan was superseded by Sir Edmund Andros, who arrived to take charge of the province in the summer of 1688: the old seal of the province was solemnly broken, and Governor Dongan's public life came to an end. This change was not made by the King from any fault found with Dongan; but James determined, under increasing French aggressions, to consolidate and strengthen his power in America by a union of his Northern colonies there. A great dominion was formed, uniting New York and the New England colonies in one vice-royalty, under Andros as captain-general. At this proposed connection with New England the Province of New York felt a great repulsion; and, it is recorded, "contemplated this absorption into New England with just dissatisfaction, as an unmerited state of degradation!"

On being superseded, Dongan was offered a regiment and the rank of major-general by James, which the ex-governor refused, retired to his farm at Hempstead, and preferred to remain in the province to settle his affairs. Perhaps, too, he deemed it wise to watch events from this side of the water—the coming storm of the revolution of 1689 was already sounding its alarms. William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen, in February, 1689; and the arbitrary and cruel monarch who had encouraged the massacres of Kirke, and who had upheld the enormities of Jeffries and given that judicial murderer the "great seal," as a reward for obsequious blood-service, ceased to reign.

When news came of James' abdication, civil war broke out in New York. In June, 1689, Jacob Leisler took possession of the Fort, asserting himself the champion of Protestantism, and claiming to hold the government for William and Mary, against James and his partisans, who, it was given out, had entered into a plot to seize the province. Loud cries of a

Papist plot were raised. Andros was thrown into prison at Boston; and Dongan, charged as a Papist, was hunted about by Leisler from place to place—writs were issued for his apprehension, and a proclamation was issued to disarm all Papists. After lying in the bay for a fortnight, seeking to sail for England, Dongan was compelled to return, under stress of weather. He escaped to Rhode Island, with some of his friends, and there met Andros, who had escaped from prison. Dongan's manor residence at Staten Island was ransacked for arms, and a great cry made over four guns found there. Some time in the year 1691 Colonel Dongan sailed from Boston, where he had gone for "quiet," according to the old records, and returned to England, where the new dynasty was peacefully reigning. The new governor, Sloughter, appointed by William and Mary, soon after arrived; and the over-zealous Leisler swung from the gallows.

It is interesting to trace the final career of Governor Dongan in England. He found great changes. He had no children, and his near relatives were dead or scattered. His elder brother, William, who had been made Earl of Limerick by James in 1685, had followed the fortunes of his ill-starred master into exile, and his estates had been confiscated and made over to Ginkel, created Earl of Athlone, one of William's most successful Dutch generals in the Irish campaign. Colonel Dongan, being in New York, of course had no hand in James' contest with William, and was not under the displeasure of the government.

When his brother William was created Earl of Limerick the title had been conferred, in remainder, on Thomas; and, as the first earl died in France in 1698, old, poor, and paralytic, his son Walter having been killed at the Boyne, Thomas, the late governor, legally succeeded to the title, and was heir to the estates that had been confiscated, unjustly, so far as he was concerned.

When Governor Dongan returned to England, he seems not only to have been in reduced circumstances, but to have been almost impoverished. He made several applications to the government to regain his family estates, the title-deeds to which had been lost during the troublous times. He applied, also, for payment of long arrears of his pension, and for his advances to the government while in America. He states, in one of his petitions, that he is old and poor, and that, at least, £17,000 is due him. He was at first allowed £2,500, and, subsequently, William III. made an order in council, reciting the facts of his case and the inability of the earl to live in England without some payment, and that he was disposed to live upon a small estate he had in America; and it was ordered that a small prize vessel, of 160 tons and 8 guns, be given to the earl, to assist

in transporting him and his goods to America, and to be retained by him there. An act of Parliament was also passed in May, 1702, recognizing his succession to his brother's estates; but he was only to be allowed to redeem these on the payment of claims of purchasers from the Earl of Athlone. Dongan also petitioned Queen Anne, in 1704, stating that if a third of what was due him were paid, he would release the rest; and that it would be better, under the circumstances, to live in Turkey than in England. In a petition referred to the Commissioners of the Treasury, in 1714, he states that, after paying his brother's debts and his own, he had little left for his support. By his will, made in July, 1713, he provides that he is to be buried by his kinsman, Richard Barnwell, at an expense of not over £100; and, after certain legacies, he leaves the residue of his estate to his niece, formerly Bridget Barnwell, and to her husband, Colonel Christopher Nugent.

In December, 1715, the long and adventurous life of the late governor—the soldier, the statesman—the last Earl of Limerick of his race, was brought to a close, peaceably, at London. He had seen great changes in his country, on the Continent, and in America. A witness to the stormy period of the rise of the Puritans, the rule of the Long Parliament, and of the fall of Charles, he had seen also the exit of the Presbyterians and the restoration of the Stuarts. He had seen the Stuarts supplanted by the house of Nassau; the rule of Queen Anne; the struggle of the Pretender; and, finally, the settlement of the house of Hanover on the English throne. He had watched the varying fortunes of the war of the "Spanish Succession," and the changes of the map of Europe established by the Treaties of Utrecht. He had been a fugitive during the civil war in the Province of New York, and lived to see the British colonial rule in America established on a firm basis, and the charter of privileges restored to the province under the liberal rule of William and his successors.

Dongan was a man of experience in war and politics, and filled the public duties of his difficult post with activity and wisdom; he was considerate and moderate in his government—just and tolerant—and his personal character was that of an upright and courteous gentleman. The colonial historian, Smith, says: "He was a man of integrity, moderation, and genteel manners." One of the most zealous of the Puritans, Hinckley, of Plymouth, bears testimony to Dongan's liberal character, in saying that "he was of a noble, praiseworthy mind and spirit, taking care that all the people in each town do their duty, in maintaining the minister of the place, though himself of a different opinion from their way." Dominie Selyns wrote to the *classis*, at Amsterdam, that Governor Dongan was "a

man of knowledge, politeness, and friendliness." On his tombstone at St. Pancras is this inscription : "The Right Hon. Tho^o. Dongan, Earl of Limerick. Died, Dec. 14, 1715, aged 81 years. *Requiescat in pace—Amen.*"

Governor Dongan, when he left New York, was the owner of a manor house and extensive grounds at Castleton, Staten Island, whereon there was a grist-mill and hunting lodge, the latter of which is still there. He also owned lands at Martha's Vineyard. These estates were left in the hands of agents for rental or sale. By a deed of May, 1715, he directed a messuage and house in New York, also a tract called the "Vineyard," to be sold for the grantor's benefit and that of his three kinsmen, John, Arthur, and Walter Dongan, to whom he gave all proceeds over £600. He also gave his Staten Island estate to the above three kinsmen, Thomas, John, and Walter Dongan, who seemed to have become domiciled there. In this deed he states he gives this property to his kinsmen, "in order that they may preserve, advance, and uphold the name of '*Dongan*.'"

Of the three kinsmen to whom the governor disposed of his property in America, John died in the fall of 1715, unmarried, at Staten Island ; Thomas, who sold the farm at Hempstead to pay the governor's debts, died before April, 1725. Walter was the founder of the family in America. He married a daughter of Richard Floyd, of Setauket, Long Island, by whom he had five children. All lived at Castleton, Staten Island, at the present West Brighton. The eldest son of Walter, Thomas, was familiarly called the Colonel, and his son John was a member of Assembly in 1788, and was familiarly known on the island as "Jackey" Dongan. The descendants of the second son, Richard, survive at the present day, and his family is now represented by descendants bearing the name of Toombs of Brooklyn, and Alston of West Brighton. There are also descendants in Virginia of the old name of Dongan, and two in New York. The widow of another of the Dongans, James Walter, is traced to Portsmouth, Virginia, where, last year, she survived with four children living, one a son. The youngest son of Walter, by a second wife, was Edward Vaughan Dongan, a lawyer by profession. At the beginning of the hostilities of the Revolution he joined the British, and, in the attack by General Sullivan on Staten Island, in August, 1777, was mortally wounded, after gallant fighting, at the head of a battalion of Tory volunteers, and died in his 29th year.*

* Mr. Kelby, the assistant Librarian of the New York Historical Society, has gathered many interesting facts as to the history of the Dongans in America. His researches were made with a view to authenticating two fine portraits, belonging to the Society, said to represent some of the Dongan family.

The question arises, what has become of the once active colonial race—descendants of Batavian and Anglo-Saxon—who so ardently sought their chartered privileges under Governor Dongan, and, finally, were among the first to assert their right to them, in arms?

The Batavian, the Anglo-Saxon, the French, and other nationalities that colonized the city have disappeared under climatic influences and race admixture; and although the Anglo-Saxon is the controlling parental stock, a distinct colonial type has resulted. This type, according to many observers, is fast disappearing, or is still in the throes of acclimatization, there not having been sufficient endurance in it to reach the stage of re-naturalization. The characteristics of the colonial race, as continued to our day, distinguish the present colonial New Yorker of three or four generations' descent from the colonial Anglo-Saxon ancestor, as much as the latter is distinct from the Latin races. Such deviation is apparent in the physical, mental, and, perhaps, moral attributes of the new race, and also in its lingual expression. It requires but a glance to distinguish the colonial descendant, physically, from the race ancestor. The neck has become elongated, the hair is darker and straighter, the bones are smaller, the jaws, or jowls, have become contracted, the normal pulse is quicker, the voice higher, the complexion dry and pale; and, above all, the power of nourishing the species has materially diminished. So pronounced are these changes that there are anthropologists who consider them signs of race degradation and of an approaching extinction, which can only be prevented by continual admixture from more robust sources. If the purity of a race blood is essential to natural bodily and mental vigor, as some contend, then the dominance of the New Englander, through a more pure Anglo-Saxon descent, may be cited as an example.

Under the small increase in the numbers of the descendants of the original settlers, the City of New York is practically in the hands of others, and the ancient colonial element is being rapidly eliminated, or, at least, has lost prominence. The City of New York is now indirectly, if not directly, ruled by immigrants or the sons of immigrants. While the invasion of New England thrift and pertinacity have placed the New Englander comparatively at the head of its commercial, and of very much of its professional life, those of immediate Irish blood are practically the political power. It is natural that the foreign element should keep rule, if they have the enterprise to grasp it, and when the door is left wide open; and the descendants of the ancient inhabitants must often bear the rule even, at times, of those morally unfit for power, if they are unwilling or unable to contend with the more aggressive races.

Under the subsidence of the numbers, and perhaps the energy of the old native element, probably there is no city of Christendom where there is such indifference, on the part of the enlightened citizen, to public affairs, and where public spirit is so sluggish. This may perhaps arise from the fact that the civic character, not being yet harmonized, but continually crystallizing under new ingredients, is wanting in that unity of thought and interest that forms public sentiment and impels it to action.

But public morality and political freedom depend for permanence upon such a sound public sentiment. Liberties uncared for may result in the usual course of empire: license, anarchy, reaction,—the triumph of ignorance and then of despotism.

Under the indifference of the community in New York, what has become of their chartered rights and liberties as free citizens—once wrested from governor and king—and hallowed by patriotic blood? Now that the citizens of New York have a free Burgher government, what good does it do them? The answer is that their liberties are left practically in the hands of the vicious and ignorant classes; and its citizens have recourse to the state legislature to save them from the action of their own municipal representatives, or fly to the courts for injunctions on the powers of such representatives, or else bind them in prisons to prevent their criminal action.

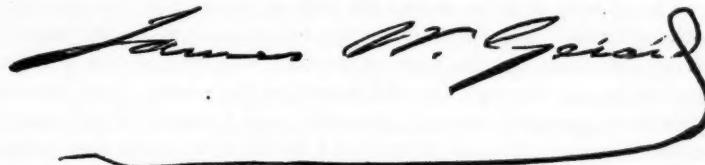
All this, strangely enough, is happening only since education has been extended, intelligence diffused, freedom of the press established, and all restriction on the elective franchise removed. It has been ruefully remarked that all the passions which are most fatal to public institutions spread with an increasing territory, whilst the virtues which maintain their dignity do not augment in the same proportion. Practically, under the neglect of the intelligent and the educated to take active part in political life, what wonder is there that the community is preyed upon by factions and placemen?

Liberty was here planted by Dutch enterprise and courage, developed by robust Anglo-Saxon energy—watched by the descendants of the victims of political misrule and religious persecution—of men who had contended against the tyranny of Philip II., the hierarchy of Charles, the oppression of James, and the exactions of George III. That Liberty blossomed here into a complete and fair fruition. To preserve it there is need of watchful action, of a harmonized public opinion to rectify abuses and control the action of political parties, an active patriotism that will lash wrong-doers from the temple of the State, and a moral sense that will inflict a stern and sure retribution on the vampire preying upon the city's life.

There is no fear of autocratic or aristocratic invasion of public rights. The danger is rather from below. The cultured classes, absorbed in personal interests, shrink from public duty and satisfy themselves with denunciation. They fear the mighty monster with the hydra head which they have created, but do not aim to direct it; they succumb to its control, while they deprecate its power.

There is abundance of high-toned political and patriotic expression: but, in practice, our extended liberties tend to be the means of our subjugation. The advantages of free institutions are lauded but neglected: and political privileges become, as often, through neglect and abuse, the instruments of evil as of good.

The public-spirited citizen who treasures his chartered liberties must be active as well as appreciative. In such hands only is liberty safe; and by such only are the honor and prosperity of a great city secured and maintained.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "James W. Gerard". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right at the end.

VOL. XVI.—No 1.—4

HISTORY OF THE FISHERIES QUESTION

An international question of vital importance is at the present moment engrossing attention from the two English nations which have grown up side by side upon this North American continent. In the eyes of their statesmen, the responsible directors of their affairs, of the editors, who so sagely advise them, and of the merchants and manufacturers, who supply the sinews of war for both, this question overshadows all others now calling for their concern; and it is simply whether the fishermen of the United States shall be excluded from participation in the magnificent fisheries which render the waters adjacent to the Canadian coasts a veritable mine of wealth.

The present is by no means the first appearance of this question in the national arena. Time and time again has it arisen to be the bane of peace-loving statesmen, but the hope of soldiers, who trusted that it might find a settlement only through the arbitrament of the sword. And time and time again have peaceful counsels prevailed, and a respite been found through the decisions of tribunals armed with no other weapons than principles of enlightened justice and international equity. Previous to the war in which the thirteen colonies won their independence, and became thenceforth the United States of America, all the British colonists upon this continent enjoyed equal privileges in matters connected with the fisheries. They might range the coast from Labrador to Florida without let or hinderance. But immediately when peace was concluded, and the American colonies were no longer colonies, but a rival nation, it became a question how far the revolutionists had by their success forfeited those privileges, and to what extent they might reasonably be restored to their enjoyment. This matter was very fully discussed in the negotiations which preceded the Treaty of the 3d September, 1783, and although Great Britain did not deny the right of American citizens to fish on the Great Banks of Newfoundland, or in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or elsewhere in the open sea, she did deny their right to fish in British waters, or to land in British territory for the purpose of drying or curing their fish. A compromise was at length reached, the terms of which were embodied in Article III. of this treaty (generally called the Treaty of Paris), which is as follows:

"It is agreed that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Banks and on all the other banks of New-

foundland ; also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish ; and also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use (but not to dry or cure the same on that Island), and also on the coasts, bays and creeks of all other of His Britannic Majesty's Dominions in America ; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands, and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled ; but so soon as the same, or either of them, shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such Settlement without a previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground."

It will at once be observed that the rights conceded to United States fishermen under this Treaty were by no means so great as those they enjoyed as British subjects previous to the War of Independence, for they were not to be allowed to land for the purpose of drying or curing their fish on any part of Newfoundland, and only on those parts of Nova Scotia, the Magdalen Islands, and Labrador, where no British settlement had been, or might be formed. Matters remained in this position until the war of 1812 unhappily placed the people of the United States in the attitude of belligerents once more, and, consequently, all their privileges in connection with the fisheries terminated. In the course of the negotiations which preceded the peace of 1814 this question naturally revived, and the alleged right of American citizens to fish and cure fish within British waters was fully discussed by the British and American Commissioners assembled at Ghent to draw up the Articles of Peace. At that time, however, the circumstances had very considerably changed since the Treaty of Paris. The British North American possessions had become more thickly populated, and there were fewer unsettled bays, harbors, and creeks in Nova Scotia than formerly. There was, consequently, greater risk of collision between British and American interests, and the colonists and English merchants engaged in the fisheries petitioned strongly against a renewal of the privileges granted by the Treaty of Paris. It was under these circumstances that the negotiations for peace were entered into. At the first meeting in August, 1814, the British Commissioners stated "that the British Government did not intend to grant to the United States *gratuitously* the privileges formerly granted to them by treaty, of fishing within the limits of British territory, or of using the shores of British territories for purposes connected with the fisheries." They contended that the claim advanced by the United States of immemorial and prescriptive right was quite untenable, inasmuch as the inhabitants of the United States had, until recently, been British subjects, and that the rights which they possessed

formerly as such, could not be continued to them when they had become citizens of an independent state.

After a prolonged discussion it seemed impossible to arrive at a mutually acceptable conclusion, and it was finally decided to omit all mention of the Fisheries Question from the Treaty which was signed at Ghent in December, 1814. Orders were now sent out to the Governors of the British Colonies not to interfere with citizens of the United States engaged in fishing on the Newfoundland Banks, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or on the high seas, but to prevent them from using British territory for fishing purposes, and to exclude their fishing vessels from the harbors, bays, etc., of all British possessions. The result was that several American fishing vessels were captured for trespassing within British waters, and as these seizures aroused much angry feeling, which further instances could only aggravate until the *entente cordiale* between the two countries would be seriously imperilled, the President of the United States thought it well, in 1818, to propose to the Prince Regent that negotiations should be opened for the purpose of settling the question in an amicable manner. Commissioners were accordingly appointed by both parties to meet in London, and as the fruit of that meeting the Convention of London was signed on the 20th October 1818. Article I, of this Convention, is in these words:

"Whereas differences have arisen respecting the liberty claimed by the United States for the inhabitants thereof to take, dry, and cure fish on certain coasts, bays, harbours, and creeks of His Britannick Majesty's dominions in America, it is agreed between the High Contracting Parties that the inhabitants of the said United States shall have, forever, in common with the subjects of His Britannick Majesty, the liberty to take fish of every kind on that part of the southern coast of Newfoundland which extends from Cape Ray to the Rameau Islands, on the western and northern coast of Newfoundland, from the said Cape Ray to the Quirpon Islands, on the shores of the Magdalen Islands, and also on the coasts, bays, harbours, and creeks from Mount Joly, on the southern coast of Labrador, to and through the Straits of Belle Isle, and thence northwardly indefinitely along the coast, without prejudice, however, to any of the exclusive rights of the Hudson Bay Company; and that the American fishermen shall also have liberty, forever, to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of the southern part of the coast of Newfoundland, hereabove described, and of the coast of Labrador; but so soon as the same or any portion thereof shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such portion so settled, without previous agreement for such purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground. And the United States hereby renounce forever any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by the inhabitants thereof, to take, dry, or cure fish on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbours, of His Britannick Majesty's dominions in America not included within the above-mentioned limits. Provided, however, that the American fishermen shall be admitted to enter such bays or harbours for the purpose of shelter, and of repairing

damages therein, of purchasing wood, and of obtaining water, and for no other purpose whatever. But they shall be under such restrictions as shall be necessary to prevent their taking, drying, or curing fish therein, or in any other manner whatever abusing the privileges hereby reserved to them."

The exact terms of the article have been given because, as a consequence of the expiration of the fishery clauses of the Washington Treaty, the Convention, after having lain in abeyance for many years, is revived, and by it, and it alone, must the respective positions of the United States and Canada, in reference to the fisheries, be now determined. Under the Convention of London matters proceeded with tolerable smoothness, and without any modification of relations until the year 1847, when, in consequence of a petition addressed to the Queen by the Canadian Parliament, negotiations were opened between the two governments for the establishment of reciprocal free trade between Canada and the United States, and in May, 1849, Sir H. Bulwer, who was then about to proceed to Washington as British Minister, was authorized to enter into an arrangement by which access to the fisheries of all the colonies (except Newfoundland, which refused to consent on any terms), should be given to the citizens of the United States in return for a reciprocity of trade with the United States in all natural productions such as fish, wheat, timber, and so forth. The proposal was favorably received by the United States government, but some delay occurred owing to the death of General Taylor in 1850. The new President, Millard Fillmore, moreover, doubted whether the matter was a proper subject for treaty, and thought that action should take the form of legislation. A bill was therefore introduced for the purpose, but it was rather summarily thrown out, and from one cause or another no further steps were taken until 1852, when the United States government manifested a desire to come to an arrangement on the subject, and a draft convention having been prepared a copy was sent home by the British Minister in December, 1852, with the remarks of the President thereon.

A lengthy correspondence then passed between the two governments, and owing to difficulties connected with the tariff question the United States government sought to have the Fisheries Question dealt with separately. But to this the British government would not consent. The fishing season of 1853 accordingly opened without any agreement having been effected with the United States, and fortunately, owing to the measures taken by both authorities for the preservation of British rights, came to a close without any further complication. In the meantime the efforts for a treaty had been continued, and in May, 1854, Lord Elgin, who was on his way to resume his duties as Governor General of the British

North American Provinces, received instructions to visit Washington, and ascertain the views of the United States government. So successfully were his negotiations conducted, that, by the 12th of June of the same year, he was able to announce that he had executed a treaty with Secretary Marcy relative to the Fisheries, and Reciprocity of Trade. This was the famous Reciprocity Treaty, signed on the 5th of June, and confirmed by the United States Senate on the 3d August, 1854, and a renewal of which in whole or in part the Canadian government make a *sine qua non* to the admission of American fishermen to their fisheries. Its main provisions were as follows: British waters on the East coast of North America were to be thrown open to United States fishermen, and United States waters north of the 39th parallel to British fishermen, excepting always the salmon and shad fisheries (which were exclusively reserved to the subjects of each country), and certain rivers and mouths of rivers. Certain articles of native produce of both countries, such as timber, wheat, fish, fish-oil, etc., which were specifically enumerated were to be admitted to each country free of duty. The treaty was to remain in force for ten years, and further for twelve months after either party should have given notice to the other of its wish to terminate the same.

From 1854 to 1865 the Reciprocity Treaty continued in force, and the course of events as relating to the fisheries passed on in perfect harmony, but on the 17th of March, of the latter year, Mr. Adams, then United States Minister in England, broke in upon this halcyon serenity by giving notice that at the expiration of twelve months from that day his government desired the Reciprocity Treaty to terminate. The British government made earnest efforts to effect a renewal of the treaty, but there was no convincing the Americans that they were not giving much more than they were getting under its provisions, and so it came to an end on the 17th March, 1866, thus bringing the London Convention once more upon the scene. It now became necessary for the British authorities to consider what steps should be taken to protect their rights, and Lord Monck, the Governor-General of Canada, issued a notice, warning the citizens of the United States that their right to fish in British waters had ceased. The imperial government was very desirous of mitigating so far as possible the injury and loss the Americans would inevitably suffer through a sudden withdrawal of the privileges they had been enjoying for the past twelve years. But anxious as it might be in this direction its hands were tied by acts, both of its own and the colonial legislatures, imposing severe penalties upon all persons, not being British subjects, who might be found fishing within British jurisdiction. Eventually it was decided, on the sug-

gestion of Lord Monck, that American fishermen should be allowed to fish in all provincial waters upon the payment of a merely nominal license fee to be exacted as a formal recognition of right. This system, however, which was maintained for four years, proved unsatisfactory, as the United States fishermen soon neglected to provide themselves with licenses, the number taken out in 1866 being three hundred and fifty-four, and in 1869 only twenty-five, while there seemed no corresponding decrease in the number of vessels prosecuting the fisheries. Thus in 1870 stricter measures for the enforcement of British rights were again rendered imperative, and accordingly a British naval force, supplemented by a highly efficient Canadian Marine Police, was organized for this service. It was not long before the need of these precautions found proof in the capture of many American vessels for infringement of the provisions of the London Convention, the delinquents after being duly adjudicated upon in the Admiralty Court suffering the penalty of forfeiture in the majority of cases. The difficulties caused by these untoward events, and the well grounded apprehension shared by both parties lest international complications of a serious nature were only too possible, led to the reopening of negotiations which, happily, ere the year 1871 had well begun, reached a creditable conclusion in the consent of the United States government to the reference of the whole question to a Joint High Commission. The commissioners held their first meeting at Washington on the 27th February, 1871, and what is known as the Treaty of Washington was signed on the 8th of May, of the same year. By this treaty it was agreed, among other things, that the United States fishermen, in addition to any rights conferred upon them by the Convention of 1818, should for a certain term of twelve years, and for as long thereafter as the contracting parties should mutually agree, be permitted to take fish of every kind, except shell-fish and river fish, on the sea-coasts, shores etc. of Canada, with permission to land for the purpose of drying their nets and curing their fish, a corresponding liberty being conferred upon British subjects as regarded the United States coast north of the 39th parallel. It was further agreed that the claim put forth by the British government for compensation for the extension of privileges thus accorded to American citizens should be referred to a commission which should determine what amount, if any, ought to be paid by the United States. By a proclamation dated at Washington June 7, 1873, the 1st of July of that year was fixed as the day on which this treaty should go formally into operation.

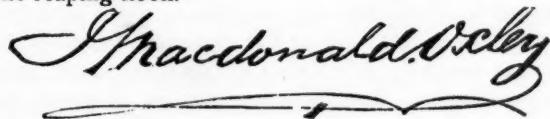
The Treaty of Washington having been ratified, the next proceeding was to constitute the commission, which it provided should meet in the

city of Halifax, the capital of Nova Scotia. According to Article XXIII. the commissioners were to be appointed in the following manner: One by the Queen of England, one by the President of the United States, and the third by both acting jointly; but in event of a failure to agree, the representative at London of the Emperor of Austria-Hungary was to name the third. Owing to the delays which are inseparable from such weighty diplomatic undertakings, the commission did not assemble until June, 1877, from which time until November of the same year, the quiet Nova Scotian capital was the scene of another of those remarkable contests between the two great English nations of the world, in which words, not swords, were the weapons employed, and dollars, not deaths, the only damage that might be suffered.

The commission was constituted as follows: Sir A. T. Galt, a Canadian statesman of note, named by the Queen of England; Hon. Ensign H. Kellogg, named by the President of the United States; and Her Majesty and the President having failed to coincide on the third, His Excellency, M. Maurice Delfosse, Belgian Minister at Washington, was named by the Emperor of Austria-Hungary. The Hon. Dwight Foster attended as Agent of the United States, and Francis Clare Ford, Esq., as Agent of the Queen, each having associated with him a brilliant group of counsel learned in the law, while secretaries, official reporters, and other clerical assistants combined to make up quite an imposing gathering. It is not possible to follow the proceedings of this commission, interesting and important as they were. Suffice it to say, that on the 23d November, 1877, the commissioners by a majority report, their United States colleague dissenting, awarded the sum of \$5,500,000 to England as compensation for the privileges accorded to the citizens of the United States under the terms of the Washington Treaty. This amount, after some demur on the part of the United States, was subsequently paid, and the much-vexed Fisheries Question slumbered in undisturbed peace until last year it was once more brought to life by the action of the United States government in giving notice that it did not desire the treaty to extend beyond the time limited therein. On the 30th June, 1885, therefore, the treaty expired, and now for the third time the Convention of London comes to the front, as the only authority whereby the mutual relations of Canada and the United States may be determined.

The present aspect of the Fisheries Question does not come within the scope of this article, but before closing my brief review of its past history, I hasten to express the hope, if not indeed the confidence, that warmly argued as it may be by statesmen and editors, it will once more find a

settlement through the same peaceful processes as have hitherto distinguished it. The convention of 1818, the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, the Washington Treaty of 1871, and the Halifax Commission of 1877, when placed side by side with the Geneva Tribunal at which the Alabama claims found harmonious adjustment, present a picture that every right-thinking subject of Great Britain and the United States, those two peerless sister nations, must look upon with unbounded pride; and the lesson that picture teaches is one which the world greatly needs to learn in these days of myriad armies, and marvelous machinery for the slaughter of men. In the language, let us trust prophetic, of the superb peroration with which the late Mr. S. R. Thompson, the most eloquent perhaps of all the brilliant array of counsel there assembled, brought to a close his address before the Halifax Commission: "The spectacle presented by the Treaty of Washington and the arbitrations under it, is one at which the world must gaze in wonder and admiration. While nearly every other nation of the world settles its difficulties with other powers by the dreadful arbitrament of the sword, England and America, two of the most powerful nations upon the earth, whose peaceful flags of commerce float side by side in every quarter of the habitable globe, whose ships of war salute each other almost daily in every clime, and on every sea, refer their differences to the peaceful arbitrament of Christian men, sitting without show or parade of any kind in open court. On the day that the Treaty of Washington was signed by the High Contracting Parties an epoch in the history of civilization was reached. On that day the heaviest blow ever struck by human agency fell upon that great anvil of the Almighty, upon which in His own way, and at His appointed time, the sword and the spear shall be transformed into the ploughshare and the reaping-hook."



MARINE DEPARTMENT, OTTAWA, June, 1886.

THE SPEECHES OF HENRY CLAY

By common consent Daniel Webster is the representative of American public life. His possibilities were great. He moved in that stage of our national growth, which determined the cast of political thought and fixed the lines of constitutional interpretation. Endowed with profound intellect, an imposing mien and a magnificent chance, he could become one of the great of the race. This was the basis of his career, and he wrought as became it. Such is the reverential homage of his countrymen and the acknowledgment of culture beyond the sea. To detract from his just fame would be unpatriotic ; yet we are vain of his memory. The profusion of fulsome eulogy pronounced upon him has been such as to obscure the other great characters of his day. Admiration has grown to panegyric, and panegyric to an adulation that not long ago prompted a noted writer to say that when Daniel Webster walked down State Street the buildings about him looked small. Appreciation does not require his deification, but justice to others demands that his fame be not exclusive. With him in the national councils were associated an array seldom surpassed in brilliancy or ability. Their names are familiar, though but little else. The works of Daniel Webster alone are studied, admired, and declaimed. They alone have become a component part of our literature. A few of his orations are classic, and will doubtless remain so. But turning to those who were equally conspicuous, and whose labors were as useful and lasting, we find their volumes dust-covered on the shelves, rarely mentioned and more rarely perused.

The cause of the superior regard for Webster's works may be readily assigned. Parliamentary speeches, to which most public men are confined, cannot as a rule contain the elements of lasting literary excellence. We do not search for it in tomes of talk upon tariffs, public lands, and internal improvements. But Webster's renown in speech, though mostly acquired in this field, now rests mainly upon studied discourses on occasions afforded only to a Massachusetts man and in the literary center of America. Thus a literature by itself has grown around them and their author, and much of it from the unchecked admiration of his literary neighbors and constituents. Time enough has not elapsed to dull this glamor, and it may be long before the illustrious New Englander shall pose more naturally in the general opinion. But time will eventually strip from his shoulders the robes of exaggerated praise and reveal a form more humanly noble.

Webster's distinction is triple—the chief source of his pre-eminence.

Yet as a jurist he must yield to Marshall; as a constructive statesman, to Hamilton; and as a political leader and debater, to Henry Clay. For nearly fifty years Clay was the most conspicuously-admired and abused man in the United States—such are the conditions of political leadership. Considering that whole period, he was its most potent political factor, and has left most marks upon its history. Entering national politics in time to lead the incitement of the war with England he continued in the public service until he died at his post, almost an octogenarian, still hopeful for his country and unsoured by his fortunes. His adequate biography has not been written; few pens have been busied in his behalf, and little of him or his works is known at large beyond the lingering magic of his name and the traditions of his political sway.

It is not proposed here to dissect his political creed or political measures. Whatever the criticism, they deserve attentive study in the light of his surroundings, mindful that he wrought shoulder to shoulder with Webster, maintaining the same principles and supported by the same party. With these considerations let us open his neglected works.

His productions are essentially *speeches*. They were made to secure votes and the popular approval of the measures they advocated. They contain no studied grandiloquence and no flaming passages on American institutions, liberty, and patriotism. They furnish little for the emulous schoolboy to declaim or to test the epic range of the English tongue. So they are not orations, sumptuous, classic, and grand, reared as polished monuments to astonish the eye of posterity; they caught the ear. They are left as they fell amidst crowded benches animated with extempore life; careless of their future as literature, he did not revise and varnish to appease the taste of the coming makers of books and biography. For this reason largely, they may seem here and there more partisan than philosophical, and, though by this means they best reflect the spirit of the time, they suffer in comparison with the more elaborate efforts of Webster, who by contemporary evidence was Clay's inferior in the exigencies of political debate.

Clay was a political genius; Webster, the incarnation of an intellect. One, the natural leader of political action; the other, the selected representative of a New England constituency. One, ardent and constructive; the other, cold, logical, and analytic. One inspired affection; the other, awe of his mental strength. One chose the field for a political fight; the other led on the charge of the heavy dragoons. One carried his friends on his shoulders, and the other was carried on the shoulders of his friends.

Webster was the offspring of a silent and black-browed Puritan, from

whom he inherited his characteristics. Maternal love and paternal aid supplied the means of a liberal training according to the highest standards of the day. In the center of culture and commerce, law held attractions and opportunities fitting the bent of young Webster's mind. Conscious of his powers and expectant of his future, he spurned humble but lucrative place, as a bar to his ambition. And with such hopes and helps was molded the mind to expound the Constitution and become the intellectual pride of the nation.

Some degrees of latitude south (where rugged winters are unknown) his great colleague came into the world; if in the midst of slavery and aristocracy, still with warm and impetuous Virginian blood in his veins. Fatherless, indigent and ignorant, he was soon thrown out for himself "to steer his course as he might or could." With next to no schooling he became the "Slashes mill-boy," then a grocery-man's clerk, then copyist to the prothonotary. With this practical training and his rare natural parts, he caught a Chancellor's eye, became his amanuensis and gained a venerable friend. Amidst such propitious surroundings his genius unfolded. He heard the eloquent Henry on his native heath and caught the inspiration. With brief preparation he procured his license to practice law and emigrated to the West. "I remember how comfortable I thought I should be if I could make £100 Virginia money per year; and with what delight I received my first fifteen shilling fee. My hopes were more than realized. I immediately rushed into lucrative practice." Intuitive sense and perception were his tutors. With these and his power of speech, as native to him as hemp to Kentucky, he won an admiration and a following which soon pervaded the Union.

Nativity, training and mental composition, made the two men a complete antithesis. Webster repelled; Clay attracted, and the story was once current that a leading opponent refused introduction to Clay for fear of his address. The grand, grave and haughty Webster was admired at a distance for his mental stature; Clay was beloved by his enthusiastic adherents, and the long personal influence he exerted has no example in the history of modern politics.

The result was natural. When the Constitution was to be construed through the function of argument, Webster was a master; but when a dissentient people were at the verge of disunion, Clay could calm the storm. When politics of banking and finance were to be calmly discussed, Webster had no superior; but when the dignity of the flag was insulted, our seamen impressed and our commerce destroyed, Clay could raise the tempest of indignation and stir the people to resistance and war.

Yet the statesmanship of Clay has been impugned as a series of expedients to postpone the inevitable crisis. The disease, it is said, was in the blood and could not be cured on the skin; neutrality was cowardice, and compromise an insult to principle. The bull should have been seized by the horns; instead of multiplying both terms of the equation, the problem should have been solved while the forces were small. But the event has shown the wisdom of delay. It took a million years to produce a Darwin. Political economy is still in its youth. The perfect government is not yet. Evolution is but the progress of expedients. And even undevout minds may think it Providence that reconciled to external peace the rival elements that waxed in our midst. The future of republican government was at stake; and they were wise who saw that the right would profit most by time, and in the end prevail.

It is evident from such a career that the immediate source of his power lay in his eloquence—the combination of his mind, temperament, character and physical organization. He was the personification of speech; he made argument a fascination. We find him at an early age the most effective criminal advocate at the Lexington bar, achieving the marvelous success of saving every life he defended against the charge of murder. Whether at the bar, on the stump, or in Congress he was always an advocate. And with this quality united with a person graceful and commanding, a delivery fluent, strong and often impassioned, and a voice that the dying Randolph longed to hear once more, we may concede his power when pleading for life and liberty, when denouncing the Alien and Sedition laws, the injustice of England or the arbitrary acts of Andrew Jackson. Many men can argue well and clearly exhibit their views; some can pronounce polished orations on set and ceremonious occasions with impressive dignity and artistic finish; but only few have ever lived who could deliver *speeches* in a crisis of events that would direct their course and shape the public will.

Judging from the logic of Webster and the inferable lack of poetic imagination it would be natural to suppose that Clay's speeches, flowing from a fertile Southern brain, would possess a ruddier tinge of fancy. But the reverse is true. Nothing can be found in his works of the type of Webster's famous peroration containing, "When my eyes shall behold for the last time the sun in heaven —." There are no attempts at such display; his insight was too keen and his taste too sure.

The following passage may illustrate his notion of declamation: "And how often have we witnessed the Senator from South Carolina (Calhoun) with woeful countenance and doleful strains, pouring forth mournful and

touching eloquence on the degeneracy of the times, and the downward tendency of the Republic? Day after day in the Senate have we seen the displays of his lofty and impassioned eloquence. Although I shared largely with the Senator in his apprehensions for the purity of our institutions and the permanency of our civil liberty, disposed always to look on the brighter side of human affairs, I was somewhat inclined to hope that the vivid imagination of the Senator had depicted the dangers by which we were encompassed in somewhat stronger colors than they justified."

Perhaps the finest of his speeches in point of composition is the one on the Mexican War delivered among his neighbors in 1847. It has a deeper and richer hue than any which preceded. It seems the harmonious blending of his habitual fluency and ease with a ripened taste and softened temper. It is not majestic or Websterian; that is not the quality. It is the rare combination of beauty and power—not alternate but united—practical wisdom made enticing. The opening portions of his speech on American Industry, in the House in 1824, are most impressive. They form a fine example of the rapidity, clearness and grace of his style. But doubtless the best remembered of his efforts is the one pronounced on retiring from the Senate. Considering its purpose and surroundings, the performance is a marvel. Its political dexterity is fully equaled by the charm of the sentiment, and the propriety of its expression. Even Benton was forced to say: "It was the first occasion and thus far has been the last; and it might not be recommendable for any one, except another Henry Clay—to attempt its imitation."

With his lack of purely scholarly tastes and training the elegance of his style seems remarkable. There are few things in the language that excel his best productions in this respect; and it is so characteristic that in the impromptu colloquies of debate, were the names of the speakers omitted his remarks could be readily distinguished; not that it is the result of mannerism, but of a certain ampleness of sound and meaning satisfying both to the ear and the apprehension. His style is neither diffuse nor compact; not gorgeous like Burke's, nor unique like Choate's. It is not Anglo-Saxon, as Webster's was studiously intended to be; its rythm and flow do not admit of the rugged force of unmixed English. He seems to have no favorable method of speech or choice and selected vocabulary. That word, whatever its length or its origin, was used that best combined the idea and the intonation; but if there be any preference in his choice of words it is for smoothness and softness of sound. And so native and inherent were these qualities that in the heat of debate they never forsook him. His style was the index of his character and is the key to his career.

Just before the opening of what may be termed the Jackson Period culminated the series of events which brought on the war of 1812. Among those who were instrumental in arousing the warlike sentiment of the people against the insolent aggressions of Great Britain, Clay was leader. The occasion was opportune for the display of his highest talents. Independence was but a name and the flag but a decoration. Citizenship was no protection, and commerce but a skulker on the sea. The result of that war was the new birth of the nation. It was the corollary to the Revolution. The treaty of Ghent—whatever its wording—not only put an end to the political domination of England, but gave us industrial, commercial and intellectual freedom. It liberated the genius of the nation. And whatever motives partisanship may have ascribed to the promoters of that war the future will pronounce it a large and practical patriotism.

The speeches of Clay on the cause and conduct of the war naturally form a brilliant portion of his works. But the one on the New Army Bill, in 1813, contains the essence of his policy and of his genius in enforcing it. It exhibits perhaps more than any other of his speeches the variety of his powers, and is one of the finest, as it was one of the most effective, pieces of parliamentary eloquence. It is impossible to read it at this day without some of the emotions it is said to have excited upon its delivery. His strictures upon the opposition, edged with deep and genuine feeling, are only equaled by his bitter execration of the English press-gangs. And while his appeal for sailors' rights is most pathetic and affecting, his reply to the scurrilous vituperation of Quincy is one of the most blasting and powerful blows ever dealt in our partisan debates.

It is impossible to conceive of loftier eloquence on the causes of this war than they were instrumental in producing. In these speeches of Clay, which are the best, there is nothing to recall the stormy force of Mirabeau or the thrilling energy of Patrick Henry. That type of speech was unquiesite, as it was unsuitable. The sentiments he voiced were not those of a nation, but of a party. The opposition was both strong and captious. No means were neglected to stay hostilities, even at the cost of national humiliation; and peace itself they jeered as the fitting end of a political instigation. The bold and lofty strain of revolution would have been mocked as extravagance. Patriots were lampooned and patriotic sentiment was parodied. When the strength of political parties is balanced, the conflict is waged upon details. And with such conditions no one but a Henry Clay, and none but his methods, could have achieved a like success.

But the greatest epoch of Clay's career began with the "reign of

Andrew Jackson" the most splendid period of our parliamentary, as it is the most remarkable of our political history. The philosophy of our institutions was being formulated. Political economy was deemed mere speculation, and the constitution was an unsolved riddle. The statesmen of the time were numerous, gifted and able, and the vital issue was being waged by parties, and not by armies. Our politics now freed from every foreign restraint and unhampered by precedent revelled in domestic experiment. Idolatry and villification of leaders were the order of the day. And looking back upon the irritating partisanship of the time we can often justify wrath and pardon spleen.

The career of General Jackson at this day, when the glamor of his popularity has faded, presents a strange anomaly of ability, ignorance and pugnacity. Few things he did were admirable either in principle or execution; and the most laudable of his deeds acquire their character from their necessity for blind vigor and prompt action. Daring in his conceptions, resolute in his purposes and reckless in his means, his record vies in life and excitement with the exploits of Jack Cade. Although primarily honest in his motives, he was deficient in knowledge, insane in his zeal, and as arbitrary in his conduct as a Zulu king. The experience of his earlier years had equally strengthened his merits and defects and qualified him to succeed as prosecuting attorney on the border and to fight duels as a recreation. His first noteworthy act after the Battle of New Orleans—that great victory of peace—was the rash performance which nearly projected his country into war with Spain. Yet such dazzling energy was potent from its very audacity and forthwith excited an admiration as fervid and enthusiastic as that of the hoodlums for Jesse James. But his ill-advised act provoked the criticism of the better judging, who recognized his possibilities: and here dates the beginning of that bitter hostility between him and Clay which has left its mark upon history.

The political features of that relentless struggle are not to be recounted here; they are historical. But whatever may have been the opinion of the men and measures of that eventful period, or of Jackson's ascendancy in it, later judgment has begun to sanction in a large degree the position of the Whigs. At any rate, the strife produced a series of Clay's greatest and most characteristic speeches, the first of which is upon the General's conduct in the Florida war, already alluded to. That the violent animadversion of the whole Whig element was more or less justified, a simple statement of the facts will show. In the ardor of his zeal, and without authority, he chased the Indians he was sent to subdue over the border into Spanish territory and forcibly seized one of its military posts because of an imag-

ined complicity. In the throes of his passion he hanged a couple of fenceless traders on their own soil after the most farcical of martial proceedings. Meantime, committing a variety of acts of flagrant cruelty, he took brutal advantage of his opportunity and wrested from the vanquished Seminoles a treaty, as it was styled, which only inspires amazement and regret that an American general should be guilty of its perpetration even upon a savage foe. As might be supposed, this series of depredations furnished a fruitful text for partisan attack, and he received it without stint or feeling, and from those, it is only fair to say, who feared or foresaw his abnormal growth as a factor in future politics. Clay's speech upon the subject embodies about all that could be said within the range of propriety, and was altogether sufficient unto its intended purpose. The excuse of Jackson's friends that he did the right thing in the wrong way, only strengthened the handle for censure and assault. The speech is bare-handed and scorching, and abounds in prophetic glimpses of Jackson's future, destined to memorable fulfillment. We here discover the first ample display of Clay's unrivaled power of smooth but stinging invective. Yet whatever its distinctive traits, they were intensified and excelled in the speeches that followed in the course of the contention.

The address issued by Clay to his constituents in relation to the Adams election scandal together with his speech at Lexington may only be mentioned. They are in his usual manner and contain many of the same forceful touches that distinguish his parliamentary war on Jackson. They are argumentative and historical, rather than phillipic, though charged with spirit and feeling. His remarks upon the Bank veto present a new phase of attack, and though dignified are uncommonly caustic and severe. But the next speech of the series evinces the full growth of his antagonism and is marked by every excellence of style which made his power unequalled in political debate. It opened the discussion of the now historic removal of the depositories.

It is impossible even now to study Jackson's administration unmoved. It is amazing to trace step by step his extraordinary assumptions. As had been foretold, his high-handed proceedings in the Seminole war were apt fore-runners of what would follow his admiring exaltation. They were the fit beginning of his rampant career. And his assumptions were no more remarkable than his pertinacity in adhering to them. His wanton policy was only measured by the wild insanity of his partisan hate. Audacity had won him distinction, and he used the same means to increase it. Soon forgetful of the primal theory of his Democratic creed, he pressed his new dogmas with a vigor and violence that executive patronage made irresist-

ible. In short order, he had transformed the public into a Jacksonian empire. Then came the war on the Bank, imperial and malevolent, unwarranted and unjust; then the removal of the deposite, like thunder from a clear sky. And this despotic act brought down upon him all the maledictions of the Whigs, whose alarm was neither feigned nor excessive; and Clay's resolutions and speech were the signal for the last stand.

This speech is one of the ablest he ever delivered. Naked statement and cogent, exhaustive reasoning are combined with impassioned denunciation. It has few equals of its kind in the language and was "one of the most masterly efforts ever heard within the walls of the Capitol." Jackson's financial exploits are vividly arrayed and his extravagant pretensions are handled without mercy. It is difficult to find in this, as in the other speeches, separable passages to quote, so completely are all his considerations blended with the main design; but there are few speeches of our statesmen that will better reward the attention of the historical student. While its partisanship may appear to some as too intense, we nevertheless feel its deep sincerity; and hereditary admirers of Jackson would do well to study its facts and its reasoning before pronouncing the opposition of such statesmen as Webster and Clay factious and unsound.

A fitting and worthy supplement to this speech was delivered some three years subsequently, at the passage of Benton's expunging resolution—the most preposterous thing the Senate ever did. It reflects the qualities of its predecessor, though marked by less asperity: and as a piece of sarcasm when argument is useless its conclusion is extremely good. But his second speech on the Sub-treasury scheme was his last systematic blow at the Jackson dynasty, VanBuren being President. His arraignment of Jackson, to say nothing of his successor, was the most trenchant invective he ever pronounced. Long practice on the theme had doubtless strengthened his powers to treat it; and perhaps no one thing was more influential in bringing about the Whig success of 1840. The plan of the speech was bold, and novel in its execution, considering its purpose leaves nothing to desire. It is a gilded raw-hide wielded as the last chance. His opinions of Jackson and his administration are summarized in the following passages:

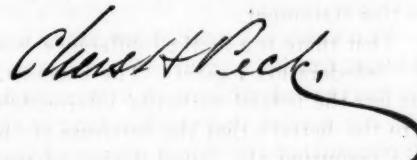
"War and strife, endless war and strife, personal or national, foreign or domestic, were the aliment of the late President's existence. War against Bank, war against France and strife and contention with a countless number of individuals. The wars with Black Hawk and the Seminoles were scarcely a luncheon for his voracious appetite and he made his exit from public life announcing war and vengeance against Mexico and the State Banks."

Again :

" His administration consisted of a series of astounding measures which fell upon the public ear like repeated bursts of loud and appalling thunder. Before the reverberations of one peal had ceased, another and another came louder and more terrifying. Or rather, it was like a volcanic mountain emitting frightful eruptions of burning lava. Before one was cold and crusted, before the voice of the inhabitants of the villages and cities were hushed in eternal silence, another more desolating was vomited forth extending wider and wider the circle of death and destruction."

Of his purely argumentative speeches little need be said. They were made upon occasions which called alone for argument, and to discuss them in this aspect would evolve his whole system of statesmanship and economy. Nevertheless, for style and construction they honor the vernacular. Those, for instance, in support of the American System contain the most admirable as well as the most practical exposition of the protective theory as applied to this country, while that on the recognition of the South American Republics is a model of sound logic and fine expression.

This simple classification may afford an idea of the dimension and variety of his powers. The task, however, has been slighted by attempting to study these speeches, so far as possible, apart from the politics with which they were connected. They cannot in fairness be weighed alone in the delicate and exacting scales of literary criticism ; they helped make history. Whatever the sentiment, we doubt not its sincerity. Whatever the argument, there is no obscurity. Whatever the materials, they fit like mosaics. Whatever the subject, we are charmed by the copious ease of his diction. There are no sudden bursts of eloquence surrounded by a desert of dullness capable of being severed with heightened effect. Style, sentiment, argument and purpose are always in harmony and inseparably bound together. All in all, his utterances become the greatest political genius America has yet produced. He will rise in the esteem of the future. Admirers of his speeches will increase, if not numerous enough to form a current of literary opinion, they will at least admire in silence, and a niche in the library wall will hold a bust of Henry Clay.



GRANGER BLOCK, SYRACUSE, NEW YORK.

TORYISM IN THE CANADIAN CONFEDERATION

He who essays to write history should respect facts. To obscure them by half-statements or by making assertions based on insufficient evidence is in effect direct misstatement. Mr. Griffin, in his article on "The Consolidation of Canada," published in the April number of this Magazine, tells us, "Many citizens of the Young Dominion had no faith in its future. They predicted all kinds of disasters and declared that the consolidation of Canada could never be anything more than a name." The writer might fairly have stopped here. But when he proceeds to indicate that these "doubting Thomases" were all Reformers, while the Confederationists were Conservatives, he belies the party record of the past twenty-five years. The paragraph to which I take special exception is as follows: "So the people formed themselves into two parties, the Dominionists and Provincialists, the one having unbounded confidence in the future of enlarged Canada, and holding that where the interests of one of the provinces conflicted in any matter with those of the country at large, the province must give way to the Dominion; the other taking a most gloomy view of the future of the Confederation, and insisting that the autonomy of the provinces should be restored in part, at least. Most of the Dominionists allied themselves with the Conservatives, while the Provincialists joined the Reformers, and thus, while the names Dominionist and Provincialist have never been used to designate the two parties, the distinguishing characteristic of the one is nationalism and that of the other provincialism. No review of Canadian history since the Confederation that ignores this distinction can satisfactorily explain the present situation, and no forecast of the future is reliable unless it takes this into account." Now, if this means anything it is that to the Tories Canada owes Confederation, and that the Reformers were, and yet are, ranged in opposition to the scheme and its principles. I propose to elucidate some facts bearing on this statement.

That there is a marked difference between the Tory and Liberal views of Confederation I grant. The Liberals hold and always have argued that the less the federal authority intermeddles with affairs of purely local concern the better; that the interests of the nation would be best conserved by recognizing the fullest degree of provincial autonomy consistent with the letter and spirit of the Act of Confederation; that, within their

spheres, the peoples of the provinces should be clothed with full legislative powers, and that the Federal Government should not encroach upon them; that the veto power should be sparingly exercised and that the less legislative friction produced the better for the general good. They did not forget the fact that each of these provinces were supplied with an equipment of legislative machinery, and they pointed out that the confederated nation would become, as it were, the multiple of which the several provinces were the units—not the unit of which they were the factors—and asked that in matters which were of purely provincial interest the federal authorities be completely isolated. They appreciated the fact that the federal system always presupposes the existence of an autonomy, and they objected to sinking it in a legislative union. They advocated Confederation and were content to give up, and a majority of the people, in the B. N. A. Act, agreed with them in giving up to the Central Government that proportion of authority necessary to the smooth working of Confederation. A brief *résumé* of the events leading to, and subsequent to the passage of, the Act of Confederation may be of value in determining the position of Reformers on the question and of estimating what measure of praise or blame attaches to their action in that regard.

The Government under which Confederation was accomplished was a coalition. A series of Parliamentary deadlocks had threatened the very existence of government, and a temporary union of forces was resorted to in order to carry some scheme which might once more put the legislature on a working basis. Of that government Hon. George Brown, the then leader of the Liberal Party, was President of the Council; and Hon. John A. Macdonald, now the Rt. Hon. Sir John, was Attorney-General West. Mr. A. Mackenzie, Member for Lambton, and subsequently premier in the Reform Administration from 1873 to 1878, was then in the Assembly, and to note the part taken by them may be pertinent to the issue. Here, however, I may say that a union of the provinces was not at all a new consideration when it was discussed by the Conference of Delegates, at Quebec, in 1864. I find that as far back as 1831, Mr. Wm. Lyon Mackenzie, leader of the Upper Canada Radicals, declared that he wished with his whole heart that there could be a union of all the British North American provinces. In the year 1837, both Houses of the Imperial Parliament adopted a resolution setting forth that for reasons given, "It is expedient that the Legislatures of the said provinces respectively be authorized to make provision for the joint regulation and adjustment of such their common interests." Thus, it seems, that a very early official directory impulse to the movement emanated from Britain. In the year following (1838) I

find the Colonial Office thus expressing itself: ". . . It will be for your Lordship, in conjunction with the Committee to consider . . . some joint legislative authority, which should preside over all questions of common interest to the two provinces, and which might be appealed to in extraordinary cases to arbitrate between contending parties in either, preserving, however, to each province its distinct Legislature, with an authority in all matter of an exclusively domestic concern." (*Vide* Lord Durham's Instructions, 1838.) In the following year (1839) Lord Durham recommended a scheme for a union of Upper and Lower Canada, to which, by mutual consent, the other provinces might be admitted. He recommended the appointment of a commission charged with the arrangement of the constituencies and representation on a basis of population; the establishment of local legislatures with *exclusive* domestic control, and protected by Imperial Act from federal encroachment, and a Supreme Court of Appeal. (*Vide* his report, 1839.) In the same year, Lord John Russell introduced a bill, based on these recommendations, into the Imperial House, but on the second reading, it met with much opposition and was withdrawn. In 1849 (a year made memorable by the issue of the celebrated Annexation Manifesto, signed by so many of the leading Tory politicians of the federated Canada of to-day), the British American League, in a manifesto, expressed its advocacy of union, with increased powers of self-government, but did not define the system. In that year some such union was felt to be a necessity, and that "peace and prosperity were endangered" for lack of it, the official statement of the basis, on which the Brown-Dorion government was formed, expressing it in so many words. Thus it will be seen that there had been a long period of constitutional unrest out of which our politicians looked for some such solution as we obtained in Confederation. I come now to some evidence more clearly indicative of the parts played by Toryism and Liberalism in the great constitutional drama.

In 1859 the Lower Canada Liberal members issued a manifesto, in which it was asserted that "the true, the statesmanlike solution is to be sought in the substitution of a *purely federative* for the present so-called Legislative Union. . . . The proposal to federalize the Canadian Union is not new. . . . It was no doubt suggested by the example of the neighboring States where the admirable adaptation of the federal system to the government of an extensive territory, inhabited by people of divers origins, creeds, laws, and customs, has been amply demonstrated; but shape and consistency were first imparted to it when it was formally submitted to Parliament by the Lower Canada Opposition (Reform), as offering in their

judgment the true corrective of the abuses generated under the present system." We get a fairly representative expression of Reform opinion in the resolutions unanimously adopted by the National Liberal Convention, consisting of five hundred and seventy delegates from all parts of Western Canada, which met in Toronto in 1859. They declared for "the formation of two or more local governments, to which shall be committed the control of all matters of a local or sectional character, and some joint authority charged with such matters as are necessarily common to both sections of the province," and that "no government would be satisfactory to the people of Upper Canada which is not based on the principle of representation by population." During the following session of Parliament which opened at Quebec, on February 28, 1860, Mr. Geo. Brown moved these resolutions on the floor of the House, and on May 8, they were defeated by large majorities. (*Vide Journals of the House*, 1860.)

In conformity with the resolution of a large Parliamentary Committee, composed of most of the members of the House, and which was moved for by Mr. Brown, to consider methods for the extrication of the country from the grave situation in which the deadlock in legislation placed it, Messrs. Brown, McDougall and Mowat entered into coalition with their Conservative opponents for the express purpose (*vide* Mr. John A. Macdonald's speech, *Confed. Deb.*, 1865, page 26) of bringing about a union of the provinces, a perfect understanding to that effect being precedent to the compromise. They went before their constituents on this understanding, with the result that Messrs. Brown and Mowat were unopposed, and although Mr. McDougall was defeated he was immediately after elected by acclamation for another constituency. Nor was public sentiment less emphatically expressed in the elections of the members who went before their constituents after the disclosure of the Government's policy at Charlottetown. Thirteen elections for the Legislative Council took place; only three candidates declared themselves opposed to the scheme of Confederation, and of these but one was returned. Eleven elections for the Assembly were held and not an opponent of the scheme was returned. A man of less temerity than Mr. Griffin, with these facts accessible to him, would have been deterred from making such a statement as I have just quoted. The fact is, the country was ripe for the scheme, and "though extreme parties here and there grumbled at these arrangements, the great body of the people of all shades of opinion, thankful that the dangerous crisis had been safely passed, gladly accepted the situation and calmly and confidently waited the progress of events. Never before had coalition been more opportune." (*McMullen's History of Canada*, chap. xxvi.)

While participating in the canvass in favor of the scheme, Hon. Mr. Brown and a number of his colleagues attended the meeting of a Conference of Delegates from the Maritime Provinces, held at Charlottetown, P. E. I., with a view to bringing about a Confederation of those provinces, and so ably did they present their views that the conference abandoned the lesser scheme and agreed upon a meeting of delegates from all the provinces, to be held at Quebec, on the 10th of October, 1864. In the interval, Hon. Mr. Brown and several of his colleagues canvassed New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and did much to press on the people the merits of the scheme of federal union. Of Mr. Brown's devoted and disinterested patriotism and the earnestness, vigor and persuasiveness of his advocacy of Confederation, at the Quebec Conference, supporter and opponent alike testify. To his broad statesmanship and keen perception is due in a marked degree the measure of perfection attained in the resolutions agreed to by that body. It is not too much to say, that the spirit of forbearance and generosity manifested by him and his Reform colleagues—their willingness to waive minor points and meet as far as possible the views of representatives of all sections of the country in the promotion of the general good—was indispensable to the success attending the undertaking.

The series of resolutions adopted at the Quebec Conference were introduced simultaneously into the Legislative Assembly and Council of Canada, on the 3d of February, 1865. On February 20th, they received the approval of the Legislative Council by a vote of 45 to 15 and, on the 23d, that House waited on His Excellency, the Governor-General, with an address, praying that a measure based on these resolutions be submitted to the Home Government. In the Assembly the debate was of great interest, being confined to the main motion, owing to Hon. Attorney-General Macdonald moving the previous question, the resolutions being adopted on March 10, by a vote of 33 to 13, and on the 14th of the same month this House also presented His Excellency with an address. Having shown how evenly parties were balanced, I might confidently submit my case to the judgment of the intelligent reader. But I have a much better case made out for me in the public records of the utterances of representative Liberals on the subject. They show that while, for reasons which I will have occasion to refer to subsequently, individual Reformers felt constrained to vote against the scheme at that juncture, there were not lacking Tories similarly disposed. They show also, that the Reform leaders went heart and soul into the work of Confederation, accepting the scheme as embodying in the greatest measure then attainable the principles which a generation of Reform had advocated; and that with some, at least, of the Tory leaders,

acquiescence in its provisions was but a *sine qua non* to the retention of office ; in short, that when their acceptance was found to be coupled with the retention of power the principles to which they had hitherto given a consistent and strenuous opposition suddenly found favor in their eyes. On April 14, 1864, Hon. Attorney-General Macdonald voted that there were no constitutional changes necessary; but on the following day he found his government defeated, promptly reconsidered the matter and voted that there was urgent need for such changes (*vide Journals of the House*, 1864). When Hon. Mr. Brown's committee was asked for, I find that he voted against it, and again, when he became a member of that committee, he recorded his vote against the principles of Confederation. He was consistent in so doing, as he strongly advocated legislative union in opposition to the federal system ; although when the adoption of the latter promised the renewal of an expiring lease of office he did not hesitate to accept. It was an action quite in keeping with his course on the questions of the Secularization of the Clergy Reserves, the abolition of the Seigniorial Tenure and the introduction of the elective principle into the Legislative Council, to all of which he gave ten years of consistent opposition and then, under similar circumstances, Saul-like, became as suddenly convinced of their desirability as he temporarily did of Confederation. In the official record of the *Confederation Debates*, page 29, we find him quoted as follows : " Now as regards the comparative advantages of a Legislative and a Federal Union, I have never hesitated to state my own opinions. I have again and again stated in the House, that, if practicable, I thought a Legislative Union would be preferable. I have always contended that if we could agree to have one government and one parliament, legislating for the whole of these peoples, it would be the best, the cheapest, the most vigorous, and the strongest system of government we could adopt It was found that any proposition which involved the absorption of the individuality would not be received with favor by her people. . . . There was as great a disinclination on the part of the various Maritime Provinces to lose their individuality, as separate political organizations, . . . so that those who were, like myself, in favor of a Legislative Union, were obliged to modify their views and accept the project of a Federal Union as the only scheme practicable." How different this sentiment to that desire for Confederation expressed by the Liberals for years prior to the decisive discussion ! No clearer expression of preference for Legislative Union, or candid admission that he unwillingly accepted the situation, could be adduced. He had been a consistent opponent of Confederation up to the defeat of his Government in April, 1864, and his

inconsistency in supporting the terms agreed upon at the Quebec Conference extended over but a brief period, since which he has persistently worked toward a realization of his ideal of a Legislative Union by a series of systematic unconstitutional attacks upon the rights of the Provincial Legislatures, which, happily, owing to the fact that the court of final resort—the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council—is beyond his influence, have thus far failed in producing the desired disintegration or modification of our system.

Hon. Mr. Brown and Mr. A. Mackenzie gave no uncertain sound on the question. In the case of the Reform leader I refer the reader to the official record of his utterances in *Confederation Debates*. His splendid orations, particularly those found on pp. 84-115, 709-710, and 989-995, are the expressions of a vigorous and well-informed mind fired with the devotion of true patriotism and conscious that the realization of the aims of a lifetime was about to receive its consummation. Mr. Mackenzie's views similarly expressed will be found on pp. 421-434, and at various other stages of the debate. The Reform leaders rejoiced in the success of the measure and they did so with the approval of the great mass of their followers. Individual members strongly advocated the submission of the scheme to the people, but the government felt that however constitutionally correct might be their contention it was likely to imperil the success of the undertaking and cause a lapse into that very condition from which the coalition had been formed to extricate the country. I am not prepared at this day to indorse their view or to sit in judgment on those who, upon this ground, cast their votes against the measure. They were not confined to one party, but included prominent members of both, and in their contention they were supported by the chief Tory organ in Upper Canada, the *Toronto Leader*.

Reformers did not accept the terms as incapable of improvement. They did not regard it as did Attorney-General Macdonald, who, in his new-born fervor for Confederation (p. 32 *Confed. Deb.*), said: "I think and believe that it is one of the most skillful works which human intelligence ever created." They looked upon it, in the words of Hon. Mr. Brown (p. 995, *Confed. Deb.*), as "an admirable compromise," considering the vast and varied interests involved. Hon. Mr. Brown saw in it the foundations for a Dominion stretching from ocean to ocean (p. 86 *Confed. Deb.*), but he was not unconscious of the elements of danger it contained. With Mr. Mackenzie and the rest of his colleagues he appreciated the fact (pp. 108 and 427, *Confed. Deb.*), that great intelligence and political knowledge on the part of the people and honesty on the part of those intrusted with the

administration of government would be necessary to realize the full benefits of the principle involved in Federal Union. He joined Mr. Mackenzie in his advocacy of the abolition of the Second Chamber, but waived the point rather than jeopardize the general result. To quote Mr. Brown's exact words (p. 87 *Confed. Deb.*): "It was necessarily the work of concession; not one of the thirty-three framers but had, on some points, to yield his opinions; and for myself, I freely admit that I struggled earnestly, for days together, to have portions of the scheme amended." He opposed the Provincial Subsidies clause and advocated instead, that the expenses of the local governments be defrayed by direct taxation. Had it been so arranged I believe the people would have obtained cheaper and better government, both Dominion and Provincial, and that what promises to become a very grave source of difficulty would have been avoided. With a single chamber the travesty on legislation annually enacted by our Senate would have been impossible. But these aims could not be realized; concessions had to be made by all in order to arrive at any agreement and they were a part of the Reform sacrifice. But the Tory leader's hostility to Confederation was exerted in more than one direction while the final arrangements were being made, and there are not lacking reasons for suspecting him of attempting to influence, at least one of the deputation of four who went over to confer with the Imperial Government, in order to seduce him from his allegiance to the scheme. I am aware that great credit is claimed for Sir John A. Macdonald in the bringing in of the North-west Territory, but the basis is purely hypothetical—an instance of his application of the doctrine of expediency. Mr. Macdougall (who was then a member of Sir John's cabinet) in his famous pamphlet, says: "I am disclosing no secret of the Council-room when I affirm that in September, 1868, except Mr. Tilley and myself, every member of the Government was either indifferent or hostile to the acquisition of the North-west Territory. When they discovered that a ministerial crisis . . . could only be avoided by an immediate agreement (and immediate action) to secure the transfer of these territories to the Dominion, they were ready to act."

Imperfect as the Confederation Act is, the only difficulties experienced in operating it are of a kind directly traceable to the hostility to the federal system entertained by those intrusted with the administration of the affairs of State. It is impossible, in the space of a single article, to do more than mention in passing a few of the evidences on the part of Toryism to trench on the reserved prerogatives of the legislatures, which have occasioned so much friction in Confederation. The principal attacks have been made upon Ontario, and a few specimens may be cited. The settle-

ment of the northerly and westerly boundaries of the province, referred to a Board of Arbitrators during the term of Mr. Mackenzie's administration and adjudicated upon in 1878, the award of the arbitrators being made on August 3d of that year—just one month and fourteen days before the Reform defeat—was repudiated by the Macdonald government on its accession to power. The award involved (in round numbers) 100,000 square miles of territory, much of which is valuable for its timber and minerals, and, under the decision of the arbitrators, was declared to be a part of Ontario. The Dominion Government disputed the claim for years, the premier, Sir John A. Macdonald, declaring that "not one stick of timber, not one pound of ore," would ever belong to Ontario. Strangely enough, he was sustained, in the effort to plunder the province, by its Tory representatives in the House! Negotiations for the submission of the case to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council proved, for a long time, abortive, the Dominion refusing, in the interim, to recognize the right of Ontario to exercise her powers in the maintenance of law and order in the territory of which it was desired to despoil her. The case had been further complicated by the Federal Government arbitrarily handing over a portion of the territory to Manitoba. Ultimately the case was carried before the Privy Council, the Dominion, notwithstanding an expressed willingness to have the whole difficulty finally settled, declining to join to have the north-easterly boundary defined. The result was eminently satisfactory to Ontario, the judgment of their lordships being on the line of the award, and almost in its precise language. The Federal Government still resists the award, however, by refusing to make restitution to the province of the vast quantities of valuable timber sold therefrom and parceled out among their supporters while the case was pending. Within the past few months a test case has been entered, and already the Chancery Court and Court of Appeals have given judgments in favor of the province, and I do not doubt the issue. The Streams Bill, an Ontario measure, frequently disallowed by the Dominion Government, was another source of difficulty, and, like the Boundary Award case, was carried to the highest court in the realm, and the right of the province to enact such legislation triumphantly vindicated. The Hodge case, the Insurance case, the Escheats case, each in turn were struggled over, in every instance the Tory Government at Ottawa being the aggressor, and the decisions invariably justifying the contention of the province. Recently great demoralization threatened the liquor traffic, owing to a conflict of authority precipitated by Sir John A. Macdonald. The licensing function, specifically and exclusively reserved for the provinces by the B. N. A. Act, he deter-

mined to seize upon, informing a gathering of his followers at Yorkville that he would "humble that little tyrant, Mowat," by taking from the province the control of the licenses. He declared the excellent provincial enactment, familiar as the "Crooks Act," was "not worth the paper it was written on," and staked his reputation as an authority on constitutional law upon the result. He passed his Act, and, after some delay, appointed inspectors and commissioners, who proceeded to collect fees and issue licenses, and at once a case to test the question was submitted. The Canadian Supreme Court was against him, but he did not allow it to rest there. It was carried to the Privy Council, and with the usual result of affirming the right of the provinces to exclusive control within their spheres, to which it was decided to have been relegated. At this session of Parliament, in progress as I write, it is proposed to appropriate a large sum to pay the expenses of the attempted enforcement of the unconstitutional License Act, and to recoup those from whom money was extorted for worthless licenses. The policy of interfering with the Provincial Legislatures in matters amply within their competence, and disallowing acts of great local importance, thus necessitating vexatious strife and costly appeals to the Privy Council, the expenses of which fall upon the province attacked, both as plaintiff and defendant, is pursued in conformity with the well-known desire for legislative union and contempt for local authority which mark the course of the present Tory premier, and it has not tended toward the consolidation of which Mr. Griffin writes. It is the merest obscuration to call Reformers "Provincialists." They are the true friends of Confederation who scrupulously respect the authority of the provinces and of the Dominion, each within its sphere. The indisputable fact that in each of six consecutive contests of authority, brought up through the courts to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the federal authorities were decided to be the aggressors, ought at once to settle the question as to responsibility for the friction engendered in the Confederation machinery. In none of these cases has the fault been one inherent in the federal system. They were purely of administrative origin, and sprung from the present premier's centralization policy and the supineness of his Ontario following. No law has a fair trial when its administration is intrusted to hostile hands.

In 1872 government pledged the country to the construction, within ten years, of the Canada Pacific Railway. Mr. Griffin says the Provincialists—which term he applies to Reformers—opposed the building of it from the first. They did protest against undertaking such an engagement on such terms. I do not think the result discredits their foresight,

as—after an expenditure of money, enormous for our population and resources, and after giving away the road, paying a company many millions of dollars, and 25,000,000 acres of land to bribe it to own and operate it, and giving it an absolute twenty years' monopoly of the North-west, together with perpetual exemption from taxes—we are likely to have the road opened during the present month. The policy of the Reformers was to build the road as speedily as the resources of the country justified and the needs of settlement required; and on that principle Mr. Mackenzie proceeded, with the approbation of no less a Tory authority than Dr. Tupper, Minister of Public Works in the Conservative Government, now High Commissioner to England. He said: "I feel that the Ministry of the day are entitled to the support of this House, and especially of those gentlemen on the opposition benches, in any measure which is required to carry out the pledge—perhaps a somewhat imprudent pledge—that was given by their predecessors in relation to this work; and I feel that they may look to this side of the House for their most energetic support of the measures they have taken—I believe wisely taken—for the redemption of that pledge." That was his opinion of the Reform policy as recorded in *Hansard*, 1875. One circumstance in the history of this work seems to have been overlooked by Mr. Griffin, "without which no review of it will be complete." I allude to the celebrated scandal growing out of the sale by Sir John A. Macdonald of the charter of the C. P. R.'s, his acceptance of a sum approximating \$360,000, to be used, and which was proven to have been used, as a huge bribery fund, and his consequent fall in disgrace. The report of the Royal Commission, which investigated the matter, and Lord Dufferin's dispatch to the Home Government on the subject, will convince the most incredulous, and give an insight into Tory methods more clear than any other single Canadian public document of which I am aware.

A few of the more important measures passed by the Reform Government, 1874-1878, may be mentioned: The Controverted Elections act, placing the trial of elections in the courts; the Insolvent act; the Supreme Court act; the Ballot act; the Farmers' Sons' Franchise act; the Petition of Right act, by which citizens' claims against the government may be enforced; the New Postal act; the Maritime Court act; Improvements to the Election Law; the Independence of Parliament act; the Public Accounts Audit act, which places the auditor beyond the control of the ministry of the day; the Canada Temperance act, giving local option; the Homestead Exemption act; Criminal and Railway Statistics acts; the General Insurance act; the acts organizing the North-west Terri-

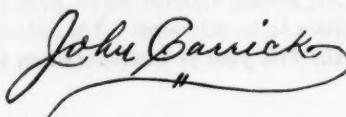
tories; Improvements to the Extradition Laws, and many others of great and permanent importance. During its term much correspondence passed between the Canadian and Home Governments on the instructions given Lord Dufferin, which directed him to "extend or to withhold a pardon or reprieve according to (his) your own deliberate judgment, whether the members of our said Privy Council concur therein or otherwise." Nothing could be more odious to a Liberal Government or subversive of the representative principle, and vigorous action on the part of Reform statesmen led to the omission of the offensive paragraphs from the instructions of his successor, Lord Lorne.

Mr. Mackenzie's government fell on September 17, 1878, on the question of protection, upon which the Tories appealed to the country, after bitterly denouncing the Reform Administration for an increase of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., imposed for the purpose of stimulating a declining revenue. The policy has been in force seven years, and no remark I could make could emphasize its disastrous failure or its influence for evil on the Government and on the country. Of Mr. Griffin's remarks anent the Metis chief, Riel, I submit they only serve to obscure the main question by raising a side issue. The real question is the government's treatment of the half-breeds, of whom Riel was the chosen leader. For years they had been asking redress, and government, Mr. Griffin admits, did not regard their prayers and entreaties until it became "wearied by their importunity." In the meantime tracts of land on which they were settled were given to speculating companies empowered to eject the unfortunates. Their treatment was a disgrace to Canada. To quote the chief Tory organ, the *Toronto Mail*, "Had they had votes, like white men, or, if like Indians, they had been numerous enough to command respect and overawe red tape, without doubt the wheels of office would have revolved for them; but, being only half-breeds, they were put off with an eternal promise, until patience ceased to be a virtue." For years petitions had been received and pigeon-holed, and, for the hundredth time, government had promised to "consider the request," when suddenly the rattle of musketry at Duck Lake awoke them to a realization of their folly. Mr. Griffin's remarks would lead to the inference that a commission had been appointed before the trouble developed. Such is not the case. The battle of Duck Lake took place on March 26, 1885; by the report of the commissioners before me I learn that they were appointed on March 30, just four days afterwards. I find that they dealt with 1,815 claims, 1,710 of which were proven, and that a very large number yet remain to be adjusted. The inference is plain.

In the first year of Confederation, 1867-8, our expenditure was \$13,486,-

092; in 1873-4, the year the Pacific Scandal Government was expelled from power, it had risen to \$23,316,316. In 1878-9, when the Reform Government was defeated, it was \$24,455,381, an increase of but \$1,129,065, although the retiring government, in 1873, had contracted for considerable increases. In 1884-5, after six years of Tory rule, it is \$35,037,060, with many large items of expenditure properly chargeable to current account charged to capital. The gross liabilities on July 1, 1867, were \$93,046,051; assets, \$17,317,410; in 1874, four months of which fiscal year the Tories were in power, they were \$141,163,551; assets, \$32,838,586; in 1878, when the Liberals went out, \$174,957,268; assets, \$34,595,199. Since then we have had a Tory Government, with Sir John A. Macdonald as premier, and on July 1, 1885, our liabilities were \$264,703,607; assets, \$68,295,915. Our gross debt now is probably close upon \$300,000,000. Much is made by Mr. Griffin of the proposal to give the North-west representation in the Dominion Parliament. Any one who cares to examine *Hansard* for some sessions past will find that the matter has been brought before the House several times by the Reform members, and that motions recognizing the propriety of granting such representation were defeated by strict party votes. The general charge of annexation tendencies launched at Liberals scarcely merits refutation; but if it did, it already has it in the honors heaped, by the present Tory Government, upon gentlemen who were but recently prime agitators in such a movement. But, I submit, it is not for an apologist for the present Canadian Government to hurl such a taunt. History will, I venture to say, class as true patriots many who are thus stigmatized. For the destiny of Canada I have no forebodings, however dark may be her political horizon or overcast her sky. Our troubles are not inseparable from our system; they are purely administrative, and the remedy is always available. I have a strong faith in the character of the Canadian people. They will yet shake off the incubus of debt and misrule which afflicts them, and, whether as an important part of federated Britain, a more closely welded Confederation of provinces, an independent nation, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or a part of one great Anglo-Saxon-speaking America, their status is assured; and there will not be wanting in time of need men of "high heart and strong endeavor," who have the courage and patriotism to fight the battle of principle, though it doom them to perpetual opposition; and whose resolution will neither be seduced by the temptations of office nor coerced by taunts of political heresy.

CHATHAM, ONTARIO, May 6, 1886.



CEDAR MOUNTAIN *

I

By an order of the President, dated June 26, 1862, the Army of Virginia was organized, and Major-General John Pope was designated as its commander. This army comprised the various forces which had been acting independently, and without effective co-operation or satisfactory results, under Frémont, Banks, and McDowell. It was composed of three army corps and a division of cavalry, numbering in all an effective force of about 43,000 men. The troops of the Mountain Department which had been engaged in the campaign against Jackson constituted the First Corps, 11,500 strong, under Frémont; those of the Shenandoah Department, the Second Corps, numbering on paper 14,500, but, less detachments, really only 8,000 strong, under Banks; and those of the Rappahannock Department, excepting the Washington garrisons, the Third Corps, 18,500 strong, under McDowell. The cavalry, numbering about 5,000 horsemen, very imperfectly mounted and equipped, comprised two brigades under Brigadier-Generals Buford and Bayard. The Mountain Department and the Departments of the Shenandoah and Rappahannock were abolished.

General Frémont, unwilling to serve under General Pope, who was his junior in rank, and had been his subordinate in the West, asked to be, and was, immediately relieved of the command of the First Corps. The following correspondence is of interest in this connection:

Middletown, June 27, 12.30 P.M.

Hon. E. M. Stanton,

Secretary of War :

I respectfully ask that the President will relieve me of my present command. I submit for his consideration that the position assigned me by his recent order is subordinate and inferior to those hitherto conceded me, and not fairly corresponding with the rank I hold in the army. I further desire to call his attention to the fact that to remain in the subordinate command to which I am now assigned would virtually and largely reduce my rank and consideration in the service of the country. For these reasons I earnestly request that the President will not require the order to take effect so far as I am concerned, but will consent immediately to relieve me.

J. C. Frémont,

Major-General U. S. Army.

* Copyrighted by Alfred E. Lee.

War Department, June 27, 1862.

Major-General Frémont,
Middletown:

Your telegram requesting to be relieved from duty has been received and laid before the President, who directs me to say that, Congress having by special resolution vested him with authority to assign the chief command between officers of the same grade as he might consider best for the service of the country, without regard to priority of rank, he exercised that authority in respect to the Army of Virginia, as he has done in other instances, in the manner which, in his judgment, was required for the service, and without design to detract from the "rank and consideration" of any general. General Pope was the junior in rank, but of the same grade not only of yourself but also of Generals Banks and McDowell, neither of whom have considered their rank and consideration in the service of the country as a condition upon which they should withdraw from that service. The President regrets that any officer in the service should withdraw from the service of his country in any position where he is lawfully assigned by his commander-in-chief, but he cannot consistently with his sense of duty grant your request that an order made, according to his judgment, for the welfare of the nation, should not be required "to take effect so far as you are concerned." The obligation of duty is the same upon all officers in the service, whatever their rank, and if there be any difference it should be most readily observed by those of highest rank. Your request, therefore, to be relieved from your present command is granted. You will turn over your command and orders to the officer next highest in rank to yourself, and direct him to report to the Department for further orders.

Edwin M. Stanton,
Secretary of War.

General Rufus King, commanding at Fredericksburg, was assigned to lead the First Corps in lieu of Frémont, but the German troops who constituted the greater part of the corps indicating a strong desire to have Major-General Sigel for their commander, the orders were almost immediately so changed as to gratify their wishes. General Sigel had been sent by the War Department on the first of June to command the troops at Harper's Ferry under Banks, and after Jackson's retreat he had advanced with a division 5,500 strong to Middletown.

On the first of July the Army of the Potomac, beaten back by the combined forces of Lee and Jackson, withdrew to Harrison's Landing. At that time the Army of Virginia was scattered from Winchester to Fredericksburg, and it became the immediate concern of General Pope, looking to the contingencies of the near future, to concentrate the whole of his forces east of the Blue Ridge. He therefore directed that Sigel's Corps (lately Frémont's), at Middletown, should move by way of Luray and Thornton's Gap to Sperryville, and that Banks' Corps should come in on the left of Sigel's, six miles farther to the east. Of McDowell's Corps, the head-quarters of which were at Manassas Junction, Ricketts' Division

was directed to take its position at Waterloo Bridge, east of Banks, and King's Division was required to remain, as yet, at Falmouth. At Madison Court-house, twenty-five miles south of Sigel's new position, Buford's Cavalry, joined on the left by Bayard's, kept watch along the line of the Rapidan.

With a view to securing harmony and co-operation among the armies of the Union, particularly those operating in Virginia, Major-General Halleck was appointed (July 23) to the general command, with his head-quarters in Washington. To what extent this arrangement produced harmony, and with what success field operations in Virginia were supervised and directed from a desk in the Capital, will be seen in the sequel. While the foregoing preparations were in progress, General Pope, our new commander, introduced himself to us in a series of remarkable general orders. The first of these, dated from Washington, July 14, ran thus:

To the Officers and Soldiers of the Army of Virginia :

By special assignment of the President of the United States I have assumed command of this army. I have spent two weeks in learning your whereabouts, your condition, and your wants ; in preparing you for active operations, and in placing you in positions from which you can act promptly and to the purpose. These labors are nearly completed, and I am about to join you in the field. Let us understand each other. I have come to you from the West where we have always seen the backs of our enemies ; from an army whose business it has been to seek the adversary, and to beat him when he was found ; whose policy has been attack, and not defense. In but one instance has the enemy been able to place our Western armies in defensive attitude. I presume that I have been called here to pursue the same system, and to lead you against the enemy. It is my purpose to do so, and that speedily. I am sure you long for an opportunity to win the distinction you are capable of achieving. That opportunity I shall endeavor to give you. Meantime I desire you to dismiss from your minds certain phrases which I am sorry to find so much in vogue amongst you. I hear constantly of "taking strong positions and holding them," of "lines of retreat," and of "bases of supplies." Let us discard such ideas. The strongest position a soldier should desire to occupy is one from which he can most easily advance against the enemy. Let us study the probable lines of retreat of our opponents, and leave our own to take care of themselves. Let us look before us, and not behind. Success and glory are in the advance, disaster and shame lurk in the rear. Let us act on this understanding, and it is safe to predict that your banners shall be inscribed with many a glorious deed, and that your names will be dear to your countrymen forever.

Jno. Pope,
Major-General Commanding.

Read as a sequel to the campaign of which it was the unfortunate prelude, this pronunciamento needs no exposition as a masterpiece of un-wisdom. On the 18th of July it was followed by a second order, also issued from Washington, declaring that "hereafter, as far as practicable,

the troops of this command will subsist upon the country in which their operations are carried on." When supplies were taken from the inhabitants, vouchers were to be given, payable at the conclusion of the war on proof of loyalty. A third order, dated Washington, July 20, proclaimed the summary and severe punishment of all bushwhackers and guerillas, with their aids and abettors. A fourth order, of July 23, likewise from Washington, directed the immediate arrest of all disloyal male citizens within our reach, and the expulsion beyond our lines of all such as refused to take the oath of allegiance. If any of the persons thus expelled should afterwards be found anywhere within the circuit of the Union pickets, they were to be treated as spies, and any citizen detected in violating the oath of allegiance administered to him in conformity with the order, was to be shot, and suffer confiscation of property. Verily, the Secession had fallen upon hard lines so far as orders and proclamations were concerned.

Sigel's Corps began its march eastward from Middletown on the 6th of July. The camps of Schurz's Division were pitched the next evening near Front Royal, and the division head-quarters were established at the house of a Mr. McKay, with whom the famous Confederate spy, Belle Boyd, then paroled, was staying. "Belle's appearance," says one of the division staff officers, "was not especially striking, except her large, black eyes, which were really fine. Her face was thin, and she looked fatigued and careworn. Apparently she was about thirty years of age."

Mckay and family were fierce Secessionists, and refused to take "green-backs" in pay for their hospitalities—that is to say, for meals and the privilege of sleeping on the floor. They insisted on payment in gold, but on being informed that they must accept the national paper currency or nothing, they chose the currency. On the 7th the First Corps crossed the Shenandoah River by pontoon bridges, and the march was resumed. The midsummer heat was intense, and the troops suffered much from the scarcity of water. The First Corps was at this time commanded by General R. C. Schenck, in the absence of General Sigel, who had been called to Washington on business connected with the reorganization of his command, much of which, at the time Sigel took charge of it, was in an exceedingly indifferent state of discipline and equipment.*

* The organization of the First Army Corps was at this time as follows: First Division, Brigadier-General R. C. Schenck commanding: First Brigade, General Julius Stahel; Second, Colonel N. C. McLean. Second Division, Brigadier-General A. Von Steinwehr: First Brigade, Colonel John A. Koltes; Second, Colonel Lloyd (afterwards Lieut.-Col. Gustav A. Müleck). Third Division, Brigadier-General Carl Schurz: First Brigade, Brigadier-General Henry Bohlen (afterwards Colonel A. Schimmelepfenneg); Second, Colonel W. Krzyzanowski. Independent Brigade, Brigadier-General Robert H. Milroy. Detached Brigade, Brigadier-General A. Sanders

Milroy's Independent Brigade led the column, followed by Schenck's Division under Colonel Von Amsberg; Schurz's Division brought up the rear. Regardless of the excessive heat, and the absence of any special occasion for haste, Milroy rushed his men along so rapidly that many suffered permanent injury from exhaustion and sunstroke. On the evening of the 10th Schurz overtook the commands of Milroy and Von Amsberg encamped near Luray. This pretty village lies at the foot of the Blue Ridge, in the midst of a fruitful valley watered by the bright current of the Shenandoah. The war had caused, as yet, few ravages in this beautiful region. The fences were in order, the barns well filled, and the farmers undisturbed in the tillage of their land. Shields' Division, which had passed through the valley some weeks before, had committed no serious depredation.

Writing at this stage of the march a division staff officer says in his diary: "When we marched from Luray next day, Milroy, as usual, had the advance, followed by the First Division, and then by ours. We were ready to move at the time fixed, but the First Division did not stir. An aide was therefore despatched to Colonel Von Amsberg, inquiring the cause of the delay, and returned reporting that most of Milroy's men were yet in camp, having refused to march until they had drawn rations for the day; and that Milroy, after failing to persuade the men that rations would be brought up in the wagons, had gone off with one regiment, telling the others to go to the devil, and come on when they wanted to. On that same day, while we were crossing the Blue Ridge through Thornton's Gap, I saw General Milroy in another character. There were a great many cherry trees along the line of march, and they were fairly bending with the burden of their fruit. I had occasion to ride forward during a temporary halt, and found the men improving the few minutes allowed them to get as many cherries as they could. After passing through the First Division, I looked in vain for Milroy's men, although, since he had the advance guard, I expected to find his men kept together. At last I saw the muskets of a regiment, with knapsacks, coats, caps, and cartridge-boxes lying around, and here and there a soldier sleeping under the shade of a

Piatt. This brigade, though temporarily attached to the corps, really never served with it. The original intention was, that the brigades of Milroy and Piatt should form a division, under Milroy, but that design was not carried out. The artillery and cavalry of the corps were distributed amongst the various infantry brigades, but a cavalry brigade was afterwards organized under Colonel John Beardsley. The Blenker Division (infantry) was broken up, and its regiments were distributed among the divisions of Schenck, Von Steinwehr, and Schurz. The reserve artillery was commanded by Captain Louis Schirmer.

tree, minus his coat, boots, and accoutrements. I asked a tall sergeant carrying the limb of a cherry tree who these men were, and he replied, 'Milroy's.'

"And where is your general?" I asked.

"Why, don't you see him? There he is, in that cherry tree."

"And sure enough, Milroy and his staff had climbed a cherry tree, and were enjoying the fruit as unconcerned as if they were at home, and no enemy at hand. The whole advance guard was picking cherries, the battery was standing in the road, and no pickets were stationed. It was fortunate that none of Stuart's cavalry happened to be around about that time. The following evening we arrived at Sperryville, and after the troops were encamped we established our head-quarters at the house of a Secessionist named Miller. *Three days later* the remaining regiments of Milroy's Brigade arrived."

In these incidents the reader will perceive something of the nature of General Sigel's task in bringing about a proper state of discipline and military *morale* in his new command. With its head-quarters at Sperryville, the First Corps covered, with two divisions—Schenck's and Schurz's—the roads centering at that village, while Von Steinwehr's Division held a post of observation at Luray, and occupied the pass over the Blue Ridge at Thornton's Gap. Milroy's Brigade pitched its camps at Woodville, a pretty hamlet on the Culpeper turnpike, three miles south of Sperryville, and here, after fifteen days' absence caused by sickness, the writer found again his comrades of the Valley Campaign. On the 19th of July a detachment comprising two infantry regiments, four guns and some squadrons of horsemen under Colonel Gustav P. Cluseret—he of Frémont's advance guard—was thrown forward to Criglersville, five miles north-west of Madison Court-house, to watch the enemy in that neighborhood, and act as a reserve to the cavalry brigade of General Buford. Cluseret had served over twenty years in the French army, in which he had fought at Algiers, in the Crimea, and in the Austro-Italian War. Coming to this country in 1862, he received an appointment as an additional aide-de-camp, and was assigned to duty with Major-General Frémont, in whose command he performed the services already narrated. Cluseret was an energetic and ambitious officer, brave even to recklessness. He knew little of the English language, and disdained to learn it. While he was stationed at Criglersville, he caused all the citizens of that neighborhood to be brought before him for the purpose of administering to them the oath of allegiance, as required by the orders of General Pope. In his broken English he addressed them as follows:

"All who wants to take ze oats go on zis side, and all who wants not to take ze oats go on ze ozer side."

The astonished Virginia farmers, hardly knowing what to make of this, thought the colonel wanted them to take back some wagon loads of oats which he had seized for the cavalry. Furious at this misapprehension, Cluseret began swearing in French, and told the bewildered rustics to go to "ze devil," when a member of his staff who could speak French explained to him the mistake he had made in his pronunciation and set matters right. After that Colonel Cluseret renounced the English language entirely.

In January, 1863, he was appointed a brigadier general, and commanded a brigade at Winchester; but during the ensuing May he resigned his commission, owing to some difference with General Milroy, commanding that department, and went to New York, where he became a correspondent of several French newspapers. After the war of 1870 between France and Germany, in which he participated, Cluseret took sides with the Paris Commune, and was arrested and condemned to death, but escaped.

After passing east of the Blue Ridge our troops were permitted to enjoy a period of rest, which was most opportune. The hardships of the Valley Campaign had been extreme, and the depletion of our regiments from the joint effects of sickness and the casualties of battle was enormous. Some of the newer regiments, which had gone into the campaign a thousand strong, had now not over two hundred and fifty men in the ranks. Many had perished from disease, and thousands were in the hospitals. Fortunately our camps were pitched in a healthful and agreeable region, and the weather was propitious for the recovery of the men from their campaign ailments. I venture to reproduce here, from my diary, the following description of the surroundings of Milroy's Brigade.

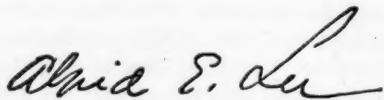
"July 25.—Camp Dewberry is the name given by our soldiers to their encampment near Woodville. It derives its name from the *Rubus Canadensis*, or trailing blackberry, which grows in great abundance in the un-plowed fields of the neighborhood. The camp lies in the midst of a gently-rolling country, and commands a fascinating view of the distant mountains, and the intervening hills and valleys. Ranged along the western horizon, the notched outline of the Blue Ridge trends away to the northward, enveloped in a vapory shroud of delicate, ever-living blue. Through the long midsummer day

'White fleecy clouds
Are wandering in thick flocks along the mountains,
Shepherded by the slow, unwilling wind ;'

their shadows creep up and down the massive slopes of the range, and their silvery volumes group together and linger as if engaged in cloud gossip, or whispering their confidences to the solemn cliffs. When the sun goes down, the mountains project their lengthening shadows upon the heated camps, and as darkness gathers their giant forms are silhouetted against the star-sprinkled sky."

Camp life at Sperryville had also some interesting personal phases. Here is one taken, perhaps I should say purloined, from the diary of a young German officer of Schurz's Division.

"Whilst we were encamped near Sperryville, I made the acquaintance of a charming young lady, Miss Bertha H——. Captain G——, of an Ohio regiment, introduced me, and I soon found that Miss Bertha was a perfect lady, and very beautiful. Such eyes I never before beheld! Her mouth was dimpled and rosy, her teeth like pearls, her hair dark and wavy, and her figure delicately molded. She was highly accomplished, sang well, played the piano to perfection, and was called the belle of Sperryville. I must confess that the young Secesh damsel captivated me, and every afternoon found me in her delightful company. I endeavored to make myself as agreeable as I could, and Miss Bertha was particularly pleased with the little German songs I sang. She wanted to learn German, and we were getting along very well, when the order to march came, and all vanished. The parting was very affectionate, and she told me if I should ever be captured, to write a few lines to her through her father, the Honorable Mr. H——, a member of the Confederate Congress, and I would be well treated. I thanked her for her kindness, jumped on my horse, and never saw her again."

A handwritten signature in cursive ink, appearing to read "David E. Lu".

REMINISCENCES OF LIBBY PRISON

In approaching the somewhat forbidden topic of military prisons, I may in truth say that we have forgiven much and forgotten more; with us, as with the schools of our childhood, there lingers the memory of only the pleasant. We are therefore willing to accord to our adversaries many deeds of heroism, of magnanimity, and of charity, satisfied that original sin is not always a constant factor. So, too, although we have exchanged volleys, both sides may have done so without undue animosity and with scarcely other than patriotic motives. Once a captive by the fortune of war the conditions were changed; there were no political discussions, no vituperation of leaders, and no impugnment of sincerity. Weapons, as contraband of war, were confiscated, and many a quarter-master's receipt was given for a good horse; but life was safe and even feelings were respected. There was a sort of healing balsam in the greeting, "Well, boys, it may be our turn next and then don't you forget us," which took away the sting. And right here I desire to pay our captors a tribute, and more especially the detail of the Eighth Virginian Calvary which escorted us from Rogersville, Tennessee, through many a town on the march and by rail to Richmond. They foraged for us, they chatted with us, and rebuked the mobs that reviled us 'at the depots. "Only home-guards, boys," said they; "never mind them, you have them too." They treated us so well, in fact, that we almost felt in honor bound not to attempt to escape. Then, as ever since, I realized that the true soldier is neither a brute nor a tyrant.

It was my fortune to have served with the Second East Tennessee Mounted Infantry, made up of mountaineers, and which, with others of like disposition, found active employment in raiding. It was very frequently decimated by details for scouting, and also made considerable of a record in the dangers of bridge burning. It likewise, in common with several other regiments from the same section of the Cumberland Range, waged a fierce war upon guerillas.

Of these East Tennesseans it may be said they were men through whose veins coursed the blood of Covenanters mingled with that of the liberty-loving Hollander—all of them descended from conquerors of the wilderness, and were soldiers by birth and instinct, Indian fighters by inheritance, skilled in woodcraft, alert, tall, straight and wiry, who as martyrs centuries ago might have gone singing to the stake. Of intense individuality and

not much given to discipline, they expected from their leaders brave deeds as well as brave words. Of such lineage came the uncompromising Brownlow, and another equally intrepid parson, Carter, whose brother, the general, obtained a transfer from the navy that he might share his fortunes with his beloved neighbors in the service on land. Maynard, a patriot too, but eastern-born, and incorruptible Andy Johnson, the same grand figure no less behind than before the curtain of obloquy, had also cast their lot with these mountaineers, not in the field but equally effectively in the forum. These were the valorous yeomanry who tilled their own soil,—“poor whites,” not worth the ink of war correspondents, but to whom unionism meant exile, sundered ties and devastated homes, who knew their friends by whispered pass-words, who hid by day and crawled by night, who followed the flag with the eye of faith, and who, silent warriors as they were, went down to silent graves, many of them in the hour of deepest gloom. There were thirty thousand of them, more rather than less, to whom no Homer has yet come with glowing song. They were heroes known only to God. The Great Republic knows them merely as sparkles of patriotism.

Our regiment, together with the Seventh Ohio Cavalry and a battery of artillery, was captured early one morning—not without a brisk fight—after a wild, howling storm, while on outpost duty at Big Creek, one of the forks of the Holston, four miles above Rogersville. The demonstration against us in particular which ended in our disaster was in fact part of that series of movements begun by Wheeler’s Cavalry, which culminated later on in the siege of Knoxville. Burnside, with his Ninth Army Corps, with the baptism of the Fredericksburgh disaster, the idol of our section because he ever meant fight and was known for his even-handed justice, held the city until Sherman came to raise the siege. Soon after our disaster a Confederate captain rapidly selected from among his old neighbors five or six of our command, whom he claimed as deserters. The truth was that they had been “impressed,” but had not yet been “mustered in” before their escape to our lines. We left them in the cold gray morning, a sombre group around a burnt-out log fire under a close guard. Among them was poor Dabney, the bugler, the soul of our party, mimic, storyteller and wit, with streaming eyes looking away from a hilarious life into the gloom beyond—and Lincoln, too, for so we called him from his resemblance to the martyr President, straight and slender as a ramrod, with teeth set and his old, changeless battle face. Another was watching the curling clouds from a corn-cob pipe. The broken blue wreaths seemed mute emblems of crushed hopes, as they dissolved in the keen, frosty air. We never heard of them again—unflinching heroes all, beggars not even

for their lives. The neighbor had gratified his malice, his patriotism, perhaps even his conscience, but our execrations fell upon the Judas, and our prayers went out with the victims.

Perhaps Libby cannot be fairly regarded as the worst specimen of a prison; it certainly had none of the horrors of Andersonville, with its shifting dead line and slow starvation, but this might have been due to the more immediate espionage of our own government and its policy of checking cruelties by threatened reprisals. Thus, when the lots were drawn for two captains to be executed in retaliation for two rebel officers shot by Burnside in Kentucky for recruiting within the Federal lines, and the choice fell upon Henry Washington Sawyer, First New Jersey Cavalry, and John M. Flynn, Fifty-first Indiana Infantry, Secretary Stanton promptly notified General John H. Winder, Commandant of Prisoners, that a like doom would be meted out to General Lee and Captain Winder, both presumably near relatives of the more noted bearers of the same name. It is needless to say that there were no executions. Then, again, Libby was an officer's prison, and personal identity was not so likely to be lost; while of the rank and file in other prisons records were carelessly kept, names and regiments clerically twisted, in fact, the poor fellows became in many instances mere numerals.

After a somewhat labyrinthine march, we were halted in front of an old three-story brick building on the north bank of the James River, corner of Twentieth and Cary Streets, east side of the city. It still stands, a fertilizing depot very little changed in appearance, a point of attraction to visitors of the once proud Confederate Capital. Its dimensions were, and are, one hundred and fifty feet on the street by one hundred deep, the occupied space being broken into nine rooms, not including basements, which served, so rumor said, as bread and water dungeons. The building was three stories high and the gable made it imposing, as it was peaked at a very obtuse angle and had four tiers of seven windows each, overtopped by a single tier of only three windows. The front chimney served as a support for the Confederate flag, or at least for one of the many forms of that piece of bunting. As most of our readers know, this building once did duty as a tobacco warehouse, from whose proprietors it derived its name. During the war it had for its presiding genius Captain Thomas P. Turner, a sort of Falstaffian Dogberry with a gruff voice, whose obesity undoubtedly exempted him from service in the field. He was pompous, consequential, and generally wrathful. To quote a phrase from Hawthorne, his were "many acts, from which it were the best charity to turn one's eyes away." Still, no man is expected to speak well of his jailor; in fact, in some in-

stances, usage has made him the last man with whom one is expected to shake hands. At all events, I must needs vouchsafe him a kind remembrance, since once in my experience when brought before him, a victim of mistaken identity, he asked the guards to substantiate their charge by an oath; this they were unwilling to do, and so I was returned to my still desirable quarters. On this occasion he chided them sharply for their careless charges, reminding them that they had once brought before him a chaplain for profane swearing.



LIBBY PRISON, RICHMOND.

Our doughty captain received us with scant courtesy, volunteering the assurance that we should be kept perfectly safe at least from shot and shell. We were duly searched for valuables, and our greenbacks were exchanged for Confederate scrip, at the rate of one to ten, the currency of the foe, which was just then at a point of its greatest expansion. Our poverty, however, was at about its height, inasmuch as the sutler had forestalled the enemy. Then, "Fall in, prisoners—march," and the doors were barred and further secured by the guards without. Numerous cries now greeted us; "Fresh fish! Fresh fish!" as applied to all neophytes seemed the most prominent, especially at the start. "Not so bad, doctor, after all," said Captain Marney of Co. A., who chuckled to himself that oysters might be

included in the bill of fare. "What hotel, gentlemen?" "Fifth Avenue," "Prescott," "Girard," "Gibson," "Galt House," "This way, gentlemen," for all the world, I thought, like New York Jehus. Lighted lath sticks added a grotesque weirdness to the scene. "Don't join mess No. 22," bawled out another, "it is the meanest mess in Libby." "Where were you gobbled?" shouted another. "What's your corps?" "How are we doing in the West?" "Got any papers?" "Say, old fellow," piped out one of our tormentors to a foot-sore member of the party, "this is a good place to get shut of your gout." "Oh, yes! we know how it happened. Overwhelmed by superior numbers," chimed in another.

Our next step was to get into camp; in other words, to hunt for quarters for the night. We discovered no bunks, chairs, or seats. In the final triumph of the stomach, they had probably all gone for firewood. We soon rose in favor by reason of our facilities in adjudicating disputed plants, for we agreed, so it is said, to furnish two captains for *totem* posts, as each had a pronounced squint; and then we had to spare a lieutenant, a champion snorer who much resembled in figure Benjamin Franklin, of Printing House Square. To make my meaning more intelligible, we soon found that we had to stake out our own sleeping claims, and to recognize it by our neighbors on either side. Every new-comer deprived the aborigines of just so much ground, and every candidate for a fat man's club was looked upon with aversion as encroaching upon territorial rights. But few, and they the sound sleepers only, were permitted to pass the night on the floor except at the approved angles. We missed our saddles, which made excellent pillows in the field when a bivouac was ordered. Thus, without blanket or ponchon, and overrun by those atoms of creation which generally came to an ignominous end between two thumb-nails, we were expected to court the gentle god as best we could. Even Libby had its first families,—the original pre-emptors, after whom all others were but vulgar intruders, mere parvenues. Our aristocracy had grown gray in wisdom, if not in years. They were known as "old rats." Their pride was centered in the fact that they were the "Mayflowers" of the institution, and that here they intended to remain. One of them wore a faded black buckram cravat, very old, but stiff enough to keep the chin well aloft and his feet from stumbling. His hands would often wander to the upper brim in vain search for a collar. His coat knew a button or two, but how much there was beneath it would be temerity to guess. He was familiar with the Cabinet secrets of both sides, divined all movements, knew the blunders of every general, and could conduct a campaign as well as any newspaper editor of the day. How he came to Libby was a mystery, and how the war

closed without his aid is another. At all events, we accepted his authority on exchange, just as we would take any other food for the imagination. He, with a few companions, would stalk up and down the different rooms,—for we had a large liberty in that respect—and would occasionally in a figurative sense “wrap his black cloak around him gloomily and stand like one whom mightiest cares concern.” Another character was Brigadier-General Neal Dow, officially known as of the First Brigade, Second Division, 19th Army Corps, generally with book in hand and wearing a red fez cap without a tassel. He was then, as now, a vigorous temperance orator, and as the direct outcome of his teachings I may say that during my entire residence at the famous hostelry, I never saw a single case of intoxication. Sometimes he would burst out in diatribes against Jeff. Davis, taking due precaution that the guards were not within ear-shot. I remember how at least one fine invective was spoiled by a low whistle, and how intemperance and the Confederacy became most wofully mixed. Colonel Abel D. Streight, of Indiana, was another type of the soldier—tall, loud-voiced, and of robust physique, not given to economy in his denunciations of the “Johnny” government—a terror to the guards, who evidently did not desire him to commit an overt act. I left him there, to find his way out by the tunnel, and to become the occasion of a bad pun which precipitated the discovery of the plot, some one having explained to the prison clerk, confused in his count, for there never was a roll-call that “he couldn’t see *Straight*.” The pun took, but too late for the fortunate colonel. Lieutenant-Colonel J. M. Sanderson, popular with the prison authorities, was our commissary, and was subsequently commissioned by General Winder to issue the clothing sent by the United States Government to the enlisted men on Belle Island, the general depot of the Potomac army prisoners. He was slim, tall, with a pronounced military air, and the court of last resort on whist.

As regards the rations, I might premise the assertion that a Libby graduate never grumbles in any hotel, be it ever so humble. He has been taught by adversity. How we lived I have almost forgotten. There was a wide difference between rations on paper and rations consumed. We must have had soup at least, for almost every prisoner had some bone trinket of his own carving. Corn bread made from unbolted meal and generally regarded as “a dangerous missile,” coffee made of rye, quarter of a pound of meat per day, about two quarts of rice to every one hundred men, sweet potatoes occasionally, salt and vinegar in sufficient quantity, I think to be about a just statement. The writer was fortunate enough to win the confidence of a lieutenant of colored troops to the extent of about

three quarts of rice, for which said lieutenant had lost his appetite, but which he had hoarded for purposes of barter. Doctor Leary, the cook of our mess, South Carolinian by birth but Kansas Jayhawker by conviction, whose habits were all medical, was wont to announce its service every second hour. Still, in all honesty, our guards fared no better, but they with a larger liberty were better satisfied.

Of the much-talked-of essential cubic feet of air we certainly had our modicum, for in all Libby there was not a single pane of glass. Fuel was scarce, and all of us missed the ready fence rail. What soldier is there who will hew, split, or chop for himself, much less for another? So railings, partitions, and doors soon "vanished into thin air," as sacrifices to the great Moloch of our stomachs. Still, when perhaps for the sake of a little cheap sympathy, we afterwards reported to Surgeon-General Barnes, at Washington, he, with a merry twinkle in his eye, had the cruelty to inform us that "we did not seem very much emaciated." We were permitted to buy what we could from without, sometimes our guards, sometimes our own commissary, and sometimes the visiting clergymen were our purveyors, but prices were ruinously high—flour \$40 a barrel, potatoes \$16 a peck, with other necessaries in proportion, and, worst of all, with a constant upward tendency. The situation was that of Wall Street, all bulls and no bears. Our adjutant embarked in an apple speculation, but did not protect himself well enough with collaterals, and so got only a portion of his money back by turning prison barber. I have recently heard of him as a fashionable dentist in Philadelphia. He was the factotum of our party, rollicky and gay; always fruitful in resources, always happy-go-lucky, and well deserving of his subsequent good fortune. Boxes from our friends North found their way through the lines, broken open and rifled at times, but always welcome. On these occasions not a little selfishness was exhibited; the happy recipients would hoard little squares of sugar and a modicum of coffee with as much care as the miser his gold; in fact, they would defer their consumption to the very last. With the fresh arrivals, whose purse and sword were, in true army style, at the service of every friend, this seemed indeed a strange manifestation of human degradation.

On Sundays, religious exercises generally crowded out all secular affairs. We had singing and prayer, and sometimes a sermon from clergymen of the various denominations outside our walls. To do the prison authorities justice, religious ministrations could be had for the asking. We knew the day by its quiet sobriety, and writing of letters which might or might not pass the lines! Week-days, however, changed the aspect of affairs. There was broad-sword exercise with whittled weapons of lath; there were classes

in French, German, trigonometry, stenography, and engineering; there were pastimes by way of chess, the titular dignitaries with rank duly inscribed and made of beef bones, button checkers, and every known game of cards. Moot courts were now and then held, the sentences of which partook of a Draconian severity—one poor fellow was exiled from Libby for having rehearsed his experience at Delmonico's, but heed was given to his appeals to remain. Sometimes an aide on General Fremont's staff regaled us with an air upon his violin. We thought him an Ole Bull, and his instrument a Cremona. He was a Hungarian by birth, and his strains were weirdly startling. There were some three or four quartettes who supplied the vocal music on national holidays, under imputations of attempts at riot and acts of insubordination toward the Jeff. Davis Government. At nine o'clock, when the few candles of the short-six brand were lighted, the fun began in earnest, and woe to the man of peculiarities, or as we would now call him, the crank! An ever ready source of amusement was a lieutenant of Ohio, who was exceedingly irascible and consequently the victim of every practical joke. Every night he was stumbled over by a misdirected stranger, and his barrel which he kept for his dead line was toppled down! Then would he make the air blue! For his credit I had better not say how, and the whole floor would break out into a pandemonium of most vociferous laughter. A ventriloquial voice would ask, "Who is the meanest man in Libby?" The honors were usually divided or answers varied by caprice. "Who thinks himself the handsomest man in Libby?" "McFadden," would respond a tremendous chorus. "Who greases his mustache with ham fat?" "McFadden." Now McFadden was voted vain, and worst of all, good looking. For a long time after his release he hailed on all hotel registers as from Libby Prison, Richmond.

At length the tormenting rumors of exchange which daily floated around the prison merged into reality, and the fiat of "Doctors, fall in," went forth. Need I say that every interested person found his place and that the valuables taken from us were only of secondary consideration in our minds? We went out in the next batch after the chaplains, and antedated the escape of the one hundred and fifteen through the tunnel, or the "Great Yankee Wonder," as it was afterwards known, when for a short time on exhibition. Of this daring exploit I know nothing personally. The painstaking operations must have been going on for weeks, and of course during our stay. Yet so well kept was the dangerous secret that literally no one knew of it but the workmen, and they communicated the fact only to their most intimate comrades. Once in the open air we breathed more freely, but still had our misgivings that something might

occur to mar our good fortune—most of all lest letters under our shoulder-straps and in our metallic buttons might be discovered. But matters went on smoothly for us until, after a somewhat bewildering march along docks and a river-front, we at last found ourselves under the hatches of the *Schultz*, a spiteful, noisy little craft used for the exchange of prisoners. Commissioner Robert Ould of the Confederacy accompanied us to our destination, but we saw nothing of him until the gang-plank connected us with the *City of New York* in Hampton Roads. He was dignified, suave, and courteous. He requested of us "John Brown," which was effectively rendered with a full chorus, as well as other army melodies. In the fullness of our joy, we really thought that he sympathized with us in our hilarity. He and Major Mulford talked over affairs in an official way, chatted with each other pleasantly, and then we learned that we were safe at last.

And with what grateful hearts did we once more behold that flag so lately scorned, mocked, derided, and execrated, now glorious with an effulgent halo! How brightly beamed its stars! How fervidly burned its crimson! How purely showed its white, and how bonny was its blue! To us, then, what an emblem of majesty it seemed. As the shipwrecked mariner drifting aimlessly upon an ungovernable raft greets a sail, as the invalid, wearied by the vigils of the night, hails the morn which exchanges bustle for monotony, as staggers the dazed culprit forth into liberty, so felt we when we clumsily clambered over into our boat as it rocked in the misty, moonlit sea. I would that the reader could have heard the jocund shout, the robust cheer, have seen the trickling tears of joy upon that night of nights, for were we not free? How some danced, how some turned somersaults, how some made a new theme of home, how some rolled out into space the marching soul of "John Brown's Body," how some proclaimed "the Year of Jubilee," and how some shouted their "Coming" way down to "Father Abraham" in Washington! Can it be told how clamor murdered sleep? How all forgotten were wails, shrieks, and moans, "the quick prayers of sudden deaths," the gleaming blade, the crashing bullet, the screaming shell, for were we not beneath scudding clouds, splashing through the foaming waves of the Chesapeake? And were we not singing, as we may never so lustily sing again, that old, old melody of "Home, Home, Sweet Home?"

John Shadrack M.D.

AN OLD MORMON CITY IN MISSOURI

Old Far West, formerly a thriving and busy city, and the Mormon Mecca in Missouri, which is now reduced to meadows, pastures, and corn-fields, and known only in history, was founded in 1836, and for three years, up to autumn of 1839, occupied by the Mormons. It was a prosperous city, with a population at one time reaching into thousands. Substantial frame and log dwellings and a school-house were built, and mills, shops, and stores were erected and opened, and there pervaded the settlement an air of industry and thrift never before known so far west. Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, and the recognized head of the Church of Latter-Day Saints, came out from the Mormon colony of Kirtland, Ohio, and assumed control and government of this settlement early in the spring of 1838, but during the summer of that year disturbing quarrels arose among the Mormons themselves. These were first produced by the actions of the so-called prophet Smith and his immediate circle of counselors, who made pretended divine revelations an excuse and shield for many licentious and immoral acts of their own and their friends. These controversies waxed warmer, until finally two of the ablest men and most righteous citizens of the colony, David Whitmer and Oliver Cowdery, who were also two of the three "original witnesses" to Smith's "Book of Mormon," and of the delivery to him of the sacred plates by an angel of God, withdrew from the settlement at Far West, and removed to Richmond, Ray County, Missouri, where Cowdery died in 1850, and where Whitmer resided until the time of his death in 1885, a leading and respected citizen of his county and State, and a lawyer of considerable prominence and ability, having, at different times, filled the positions of judge and district attorney very satisfactorily to his constituents.

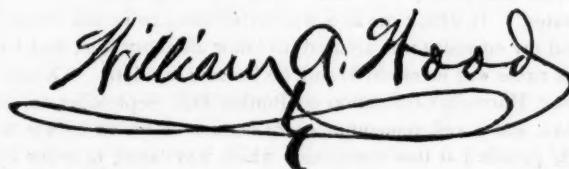
The town site of Far West was one mile square, and located five miles northwest of Kingston, the present county seat of Caldwell County, and was situated in a magnificent prairie country, diversified and made more beautiful and habitable by scattering groves of fine oaks and walnuts near the streams and springs, and covered with wild flowers of every hue, loading the air with their fragrance. Game was abundant and various; the streams were filled with fine fish; the soil was fertile and the climate pleasant. Is it to be wondered that the poor deluded followers of the crafty Smith and his cunning associates, many of whom had come from the cold and unproductive countries of Northern Europe, thought they had indeed arrived in "the promised land of God." The city was laid out in blocks, three hundred and ninety-six feet square, with broad streets and grand avenues, the four principal ones being one hundred and thirty-two feet in width, and all others nearly one hundred feet wide. A public square was laid out in the center of the town, and dedicated as the chosen spot on which to build a magnificent temple, which Smith claimed he was, by divine command, ordered to erect.

Work was begun on this temple in the summer of 1838, and an excavation was

made for a basement under the contemplated structure, one hundred and twenty feet due east and west by eighty feet north and south, and five feet deep. Between five and six hundred men were engaged in this work, which was all done by hand, the dirt being removed on wheelbarrows, and was accomplished in a few hours. The corner-stones of the temple were laid with solemn and impressive ceremonies on July 4, 1838, and the walls were built to a height of about two or two-and-a-half feet above the level of the ground, but here, as at the building of the Tower of Babel, the work was interrupted by dissensions among the builders, and but little more was done—as, soon after this, in 1839, the Mormon war broke out, and Far West was depopulated and its inhabitants driven from the country on account of their immoral practices and petty depredations, by the indignant Missourians.

All that to-day remains of this temple, thought by the Latter-Day Saints to be the appointed work of the Deity, is a depression in the earth three or four feet deep, about the size of the original excavation, and some fragments of crumbling walls, all covered with "blue" grass, weeds, and loose stones. Only one building remains of this once, in the day in which it flourished, considerable city, with its hundreds of buildings. This house is said, by some of the older settlers here, to have been occupied by the prophet, Joseph Smith, and his first or true wife. It is situated on a slight eminence, fronts the South, is a one-and-a-half story log and frame building of four rooms, and has a capacious fire-place and chimney of red home-made bricks, at either end. This house is now occupied as a farm-house. Two or three of the buildings of Far West were hauled to Kingston after they were abandoned by the Mormons, and are still in use for shops and dwellings.

Notable among the residents of Far West at the time of which we write were John D. Lee, the leader of the brutal Mountain Meadow massacre in Utah several years ago ; Mrs. Morgan, whose husband was, it is claimed, abducted and murdered by Masons, in 1826, for his so-called exposure of the mysteries of the craft to which he belonged ; and Brigham Young, the ablest ruler this peculiar sect has ever had. A few of the inhabitants of Far West refused to go with the Mormons to Salt Lake, withdrew from the Church of Latter-D^y Saints, and renounced its tenets and practises, and they and their descendants have since been honorable and well-esteemed citizens of Caldwell and neighboring counties in Missouri. The post-office at Far West, discontinued about forty years ago, was recently re-established and named Kerr, in honor of the husband of a niece of David Whitmer, before-mentioned, a prosperous farmer of the vicinity, and it is kept in a farm-house located on the old town site.

A large, flowing cursive signature in black ink. The name appears to be "William A. Hood". The signature is written over a horizontal oval-shaped line.

KINGSTON, MISSOURI, JUNE 11, 1886.

MINOR TOPICS

DANIEL WEBSTER

The March *Century*, 1885, contained an article, "Reminiscences of Daniel Webster," by Stephen M. Allen, the first president of the Webster Society. It is interesting, as is all that relates to the great statesman who filled so large a space in the minds of his contemporaries, and whose fame, unlike that of most public men, seems to increase with time. It is to be regretted, however, that Mr. Allen should have thought fit to mention as probable the story that Webster tore up his diploma on the day of graduation, saying he did not need it to make a man of himself. Connected with that is the story that he was an idle student in college. These stories have no evidence to support them, have often been denied, and, like the Washington hatchet story, are simply the creation of some one's imagination. I remember once while a Dartmouth student having a long talk about Webster's college days with the venerable Professor Shurtleff, who was in college with him, and who spoke of him as a hard student, and, I think, denied this very story about the diploma. All the probabilities are against it. He was a poor boy, and he would not have paid the required fee for the sake of tearing it up, and it was not characteristic of him to make such a foolish display. Curtis, in his admirable "Life of Webster," speaks of this story, and quotes the opinions of several of Webster's classmates in regard to it. Dr. Merrill, the best scholar of the class, and a tutor at Dartmouth for three years after graduation, had never heard of it till a quarter of a century afterward; and another classmate, Rev. Elihu Smith, was by his side when he received his diploma with a graceful bow, and would have known if he had destroyed it. This foolish story has no claim even to be called a tradition, and should not be dignified by repetition.

Professor Shurtleff told me he slept in the same room with Webster the first night the latter spent at Dartmouth, and he was a tall, spare, dark, awkward boy, dressed in homespun.

A native of the same State, though I never spoke with him, he was the object of my boyish admiration. When very young, listening one evening to the conversation of some guests at my father's fireside, who were discussing the trial of the White murderers, one said: "Mr. Webster is the smartest man in the United States." It struck me as a wonderful thing to be the smartest man in the country, and my curiosity was aroused to know all about him, and I read everything where his name was mentioned, and he became my hero. Though a boy, I attended the great Garrison Convention on Bunker Hill, September 10, 1840, mainly to see this man, and I well remember every feature of his as he was first pointed out to me. He presided at that convention which was called to order by Robert C. Winthrop,

then a young man of brilliant promise. He presided, also, at a meeting in Faneuil Hall in the evening. With much effort, I made my way through the dense crowd up to the platform, then but little raised above the floor, and was so near Mr. Webster before he called the meeting to order that I could touch him, and I did touch him, that I might boast with boyish enthusiasm that I had put my hand on Daniel Webster. As he stood there I heard him say : "Mr. Mason, I wish I had a seat to offer you." I turned and saw a man towering above all around him, and I knew it was that giant in body and mind, Jeremiah Mason, who as an antagonist did so much to train Mr. Webster, and whom he most dreaded as an opponent, as shown by the remark he is said to have made, when told that William Wirt had been employed against him in a celebrated Boston case : "I was afraid they would get Jerry Mason." As he called the meeting to order, the hall was packed to its utmost capacity, and his first words were : "Our opponents make a great mistake, as you can all attest, when they say there is no pressure that an honest man need feel." He spoke very briefly, saying it was simply his duty to introduce distinguished gentlemen from other States, among whom were Benjamin Watkins Leigh, of Virginia, Ogden Hoffman, the celebrated advocate, of New York, and others long since dead and now hardly remembered.

There are many associations with Mr. Webster in this vicinity. Two miles from Newburyport, on the opposite side of the river in Salisbury, was the home of his mother ; the house has long since disappeared, but the cellar is still shown. The story has been published of the introduction of his father to her. Left a widower, he wanted a wife, and returned to his old home in Kingston, New Hampshire, in search of one. A friend recommended a Miss Eastman and gave him a letter of introduction. Reaching her home, he knocked at the door, and said to the young lady who opened it that he wished to see Miss Eastman for whom he had a letter. She told him that was her name—invited him in—and his business was soon made known and satisfactorily arranged.

Joshua Coffin, the historian of Newbury, told me that Mr. Webster applied to him to hunt up his genealogy, and knew so little of his family that he gave him his grandfather's name incorrectly.

Here in Newburyport, near the home of Richard S. and Harriet Prescott Spofford, was the scene of the Goodrich sham robbery, the trial of which added so much to Webster's legal fame. A few miles distant is the academy in Atkinson, New Hampshire, where his wife Grace Fletcher was educated, and I have heard a schoolmate describe her as a pale-faced, quiet, modest girl, whom all loved. An artist, a native of this city, and one of the two surviving artists to whom Webster sat, told me recently that Webster declined an invitation to the excursion on the ill-fated *Princeton* on the ground of an engagement to sit to him. The next day he came and said : "You have saved my life."

In conversing lately with a gentleman about orators, one who has opportunities to hear the best of our country, he spoke of the deep impression made on him by

Webster and Choate, whom his business as a reporter had enabled him often to hear in court. He thought Mr. Choate at times the most eloquent man to whom he had ever listened. He was always earnest and absorbed in his case, however small. Mr. Webster, on the other hand, was often heavy and not easily aroused, yet when moved to call out his best powers, he was the grandest of orators. One of the finest efforts he had ever heard from Mr. Webster was in a case where he had been employed to obtain justice for a man whose land had been taken for some public use with great injury and small compensation. Mr. Webster had become deeply interested in his client, and depicted in the most eloquent language the wrong done him and the meanness of his treatment, though hardly a dozen spectators were present. Once Mr. Choate and Mr. Webster were opponents in a trial, as often happened, and after a magnificent plea of the former, with all that exuberance of language of which he was such a master, the latter rose, turned to the jury, and waving his hand to Mr. Choate, said in his grand manner : " Poetry, gentlemen of the jury, all poetry, now let us come down to the facts." What could be finer ?

Webster gave a Fourth of July oration in Concord, New Hampshire, in 1806. Of those who listened to it, probably Col. William Kent, now at the ripe age of ninety-two, is the only survivor. He was a student at Atkinson Academy, and his father sent down a horse by the postman, as there was no public conveyance, and told him he could come home for the Fourth, as a young lawyer from Boscowen was to give an oration. He well remembers that the young lawyer came to his father's house as a guest, and drove his horse to the barn and put him up himself, before he entered the house. It was Daniel Webster, who had recently opened his office in Boscowen.

I was in Dartmouth College during John Tyler's administration, and at that time made the acquaintance of General Samuel Fessenden, who had two sons members of the college. He was the father of William Pitt Fessenden and of eight college graduates, and from boyhood a particular friend of Webster. It was when the Whigs were very angry with Tyler for his veto of the Bank Bill, and were not a little displeased with Mr. Webster because he consented to remain in the Cabinet. General Fessenden said Mr. Webster told him he had done all he could to influence Mr. Tyler, and might have succeeded if it had been a question of argument ; but Mr. Tyler had made it a matter of conscience, and it was not easy to argue with one's conscience.

There is no doubt that Mr. Webster, with all his great abilities, knew well how to avail himself of the labors of others. Judge Tenney, of Maine, told me that when in Portsmouth, Webster heard some of Mason's students talking, and one said : " The old man has been puzzling for a long time over an ugly question, and has settled it to his satisfaction," at the same time explaining it. Webster fixed it well in his mind. Some years after, in New York, Aaron Burr sought an interview with him and wished his opinion on this very question, saying it had given

him much study and perplexity. Webster at once explained it to Burr's satisfaction and astonishment at his legal knowledge, giving the solution of Mason.

I asked ex-Senator Wilkinson, one of the first senators from Minnesota, who of all the public men he had seen had most impressed him, and he answered at once, "Webster most, by far." For many years before 1850, Webster, Clay, and Calhoun were the most prominent men in Congress, and probably we have never had another such marked trio at one time. I once asked a distinguished old gentleman of Washington who had often heard them, and has been familiar with all our leading men since, how just is the comparison often made between one of these and some well-known statesmen of the present day. With a look of contempt far more expressive than his language, he replied: "There is no room for a comparison."

Webster's grand presence, his magnificent voice, his piercing black eye, the dignity of his whole manner, strangely impressed all who saw him. His speeches are models of fine Saxon English, and are now read, and seem destined to be read, more than those of any other American statesman.



NEWBURYPORT, MASSACHUSETTS, June, 1886.

THE CELEBRATED LEWIS MORRIS ON CONNECTICUT

THE SEQUEL

Under this head the June number of the *Magazine of American History* [xv. 612] published among its original documents an extract from the will of Lewis Morris, dated November, 1760. His direction that his son should not be educated in the colony of Connecticut had a curious sequel as related by Judge Ogden Edwards to an eminent lawyer of this city.

"Gouverneur Morris, who had none of the small narrowness of his father, but whose mental strength and reach were, as the world knows, of high order, when a member of the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, took his seat with, and especially sought the society and counsels of the members from Connecticut, whom he said he regarded 'as eminently honorable and upright men, and the wisest delegation in that body.' "

REPRINTS

**EXTRACTS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF EDWARD GIBBON, THE HISTORIAN,
RELATIVE TO AMERICAN AFFAIRS, 1774-1783**

[From a printed copy, very rare, almost unknown.]

Edward Gibbon to J. Holroyd—afterwards Lord Sheffield.

(Continued from page 507.)

February 23d, 1778.

Dear Holroyd

You probably know the heads of the plan ; an Act of Parliament to declare, that we never *had* any intention of taxing America : another Act, to empower Crown to name Commissioners, authorised to suspend hostilities by sea and land, as well as all obnoxious Acts ; and, in short, to grant every thing, except independence. Opposition, after expressing their doubts whether the lance of Achilles could cure the wound which it had inflicted, could not refuse their assent to the principles of conduct which they themselves had always recommended. Yet you must acknowledge, that in a business of this magnitude there may arise several important questions, which, without a spirit of faction, will deserve to be debated : whether Parliament ought not to name the Commissioners ? whether it would not be better to repeal the obnoxious Acts ourselves ? I do not find that the world ; that is, a few people whom I happen to converse with ; are much inclined to praise Lord N.'s ductility of temper. In the service of next Friday, you will, however, take notice of the injunction given by the Liturgy : " And all the people shall say after the Minister, " Turn us again, O Lord, and so shall we be turned." While we consider whether we shall negotiate, I fear the French have been more diligent. It is positively asserted, both in private and in Parliament, and not contradicted by the Ministers, that on the 5th of this month a Treaty of Commerce (which naturally leads to a war) was signed at Paris with the independent States of America. Yet there still remains a hope that England may obtain a preference. The two greatest countries in Europe are fairly running a race for the favour of America.

The Same to the Same.

ALMACK'S, Saturday Night, March 21, 1778.

As business thickens, and you may expect me to write sometimes, I shall lay down one rule; totally to avoid political argument, conjecture, lamentation, declamation, &c. which would fill pages, not to say volumes ; and to confine myself to short, authentic pieces of intelligence, for which I may be able to afford moments and

lines. Hear then—the French Ambassador went off yesterday morning, not without some slight expression of ill humor from John Bull. Lord Stormont is probably arrived to-day. No immediate declaration except on our side. A report (but vague) of an action in the Bay, between La Motte Piquet and Digby; the former has five ships and three frigates, with three large store ships under convoy; the latter has eleven ships of the line. If the Frenchman should fail to the mouth of the Delaware, he may possibly be followed and shut up. When Franklin was received at Versailles, Deane went in the same character to Vienna, and Arthur Lee to Madrid. Notwithstanding the reports of an action in Silevia, they subside; and I have seen a letter from Eliot at Berlin of the tenth instant, without any mention of actual hostilities, and even speaking of the impending war as not absolutely inevitable.

The Same to the Same.

ALMACK'S, Friday, June 12th, 1778.

Since D'Eftaing's fleet has passed through the Gut (I leave you to guess where it must have got out) it has been totally forgotten, and the most wonderful lethargy and oblivion, of war and peace, of Europe and of America, seems to prevail. Lord Chatham's funeral was meanly attended, and Government ingeniously contrived to secure the double odium of suffering the thing to be done, and of doing it with a good grace. Their chief conversation at Almack's is about tents, drill-jeants, divisions, firings, &c. and I am revered as a veteran.

The Same to the Same.

Wednesday Evening, July 1, 1778.

Keppel's return has occasioned infinite and inexpressible consternation, which gradually changes into discontent against him. He is ordered out again with three or four large ships; two of ninety, two of seventy-four, and the fiftieth regiment as marines. In the mean time the French, with a superior fleet, are masters of the sea; and our out-ward bound East and West India trade is in the most imminent danger.

Lord North, as a mark of his gratitude, observed the other day, that your regiment would make a very good figure in North Carolina. Adieu.

The Same to the Same.

Saturday Night, September 25th, 1778.

No news from the fleets; we are so tired of waiting, that our impatience seems gradually to subside into a careless and supine indifference. We sometimes yawn, and ask, just by way of conversation, Whether Spain will join? I believe you may

depend on the truth, not the fincerty, of an answser from their Court, that they will not support or acknowledge the independence of the Americans. But on the other hand, magazines are forming, troops marching, in a ftile which threatens Gibraltar. Gib is, however, a hard morfel ; five thoufand effectives, and every article of defence in the moft complete ftate. We are certainly courting Ruffia. So much for the Republic.

The Same to the Same.

Tueſday Night, November, 1778.

You fometimes complain that I do not fend you early news ; but you will now be fatisfied with receiving a full and true account of all the parliamentary tranſactions of next Thurſday. In town we think it an excellent piece of humour* (the author is Tickell). Burke and C. Fox are pleafed with their ſpeeches, but ferious patriots groan that fuch things ſhould be turned to farce. We feem to have a chance of an additional Dutch war : you may depend upon its being a very im- portant buſineſs, from which we cannot extricate ourſelves without either loſs or fame.

The Same to the Same.

ALMACK'S, Wednesday Evening, 1778.

No news from America, yet there are people, large ones too, who talk of con- quering it next ſummer with the help of twenty thoufand Ruffians. I fancy you are better fatisfied with private than public war. The Lisbon packet in coming home met forty of our privateers.

The Same to the Same.

February 6th, 1779.

I would fend you ſome news ; but we are aſleep ; no foreign intelligence, except the capture of a frigate ; no certain account from the Weſt Indies, and a diſſolution of Parliament, which feems to have taken place fince Chriſtmas. In the papers you will ſee negociaſons, changes of departments, &c. and I have ſome reaſon to believe, that thoſe reports are not entirely without foundation. Portſmouth is no longer an object of ſpeculation ; the whole stream of all men, and all parties, runs one way. Sir Hugh is diſgraced, ruined, &c. &c. ; and as an old wound has broken out again, they ſay he muſt have his leg cut off as ſoon as he has time. In a night or two we muſt be in a blaze of illumination, from the zeal of naval heroes, land patriots, tallow-chandlers ; the laſt are not the leaſt fincere. There is a buſ about a peace, and Spaniſh mediation.

* The Title of the Pamphlet—*Anticipation*.

The Same to the Same.

May 7th, 1779.

By some of the strangest accidents, (Lord G. G.'s indiscretion, Rigby's boldness, &c.) which it would require ten pages to explain, our wife resolution of last Thursday is changed, and Lord Cornwallis will be examined; Sir William Howe's enquiry will proceed, and we shall be oppressed by the load of information. You have heard of the Jersey invasion; every body praises Arbuthnot's decided spirit. Conway went last night to throw himself into the island.

The Same to the Same.

May, 1779.

ALAS! alas! fourteen ships of the line: you understand by this, that you have not got a single long-boat. Ministry are more crest-fallen than ever I knew them, with the last intelligence; and I am sorry to say, that I see a smile of triumph on some opposition faces. Though the business of the West Indies may still produce something, I am much afraid that we shall have a campaign of immense expense, and little or no action. The most busy scene is at present in the House of Commons; and we shall be involved, during a great part of next month, in tedious, fruitless, but, in my opinion, proper enquiries.

EDWARD GIBBON to *Mrs. GIBBON.*

BRIGHTELMSTONE, Nov. 2d, 1781.

MRS. * * * * wrote a melancholy story of an American mother, a friend of her friend, who in a short time had lost three sons; one killed by the savages, one run mad from the fright at that accident, and the third taken at sea, now in England, a prisoner in Forton hospital. For him something perhaps might be done. Your humanity will prompt you to obtain from Mrs. * * * * a more accurate account of names, dates, and circumstances; but you will prudently suppress my request, lest I should raise hopes which it may not be in my power to gratify.

EDWARD GIBBON to *Lord SCHEFFIELD [J. HOLROYD].*

BENTINCK STREET, October 14th, 1782.

I AM at a loss what to say or think about our parliamentary state. A certain late Secretary of Ireland reckons the House of Commons thus: Minister one hundred and forty, Reynard ninety, Boreas one hundred and twenty, the rest unknown, or uncertain. The last of the three, by self or agents, talks too much of absence, neutrality, moderation. I still think he will discard the game.

I am not in such a fury with the letter of American independence ; but I think it seems ill-timed and useless ; and I am much entertained with the metaphysical disputes between Government and Secession about the meaning of it.

EDWARD GIBBON to Lord SCHEFFIELD.

Dover, Wednesday, 17th September, 1783,
ten o'clock in the morning,

Last night the wind was so high, that the vessel could not stir from the harbour; this day it is brisk and fair. We are flattered with the hope of making Calais harbour by the same tide, in three hours and a half ; but any delay will leave the disagreeable option of a tottering boat or a toiling night. What a cursed thing to live in an island ! this step is more awkward than the whole journey. The triumvirate of this memorable embarkation will consist of the grand Gibbon, Henry Laurens, Esquire, President of Congress, and Mr. Secretary, Colonel, Admiral, Philosopher, Thompson, attended by three horses, who are not the most agreeable fellow passengers. If we survive, I will finish and seal my letter at Calais. Our salvation shall be ascribed to the prayers of my Lady and Aunt ; for I do believe they both pray.

BOULOGNE, Thursday Morning, Ten o'clock.

Instead of Calais, the wind has driven us to Boulogne, where we landed in the evening, without much noise and difficulty. The night is passed, the custom-house is dispatched, the post-horses are ordered, and I shall start about eleven o'clock. I had not the least symptoms of sea-sickness, while my companions were spewing round me. Laurens has read the pamphlet,* and thinks it has done much mischief. A good sign !

PETERSFIELD

* Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Commerce of the American States.

NOTES

LEOPOLD VON RANKE, the celebrated German historian, died Sunday, May 23, 1886, in the ninety-first year of his age. He was born at Wiehe, December 21, 1795, and completed the sixtieth year of his professorship at the University of Berlin, March 31, 1885. His first work, *The History of Roman and German Nations* from 1494 to 1535, was published in 1824, and since then his pen has never been idle. From the year 1829 to 1833, he examined the public archives of Vienna, Venice, Florence, and Rome, amassing material for his *Princes and Peoples of Southern Europe* and his renowned *History of the Popes* (1834). As a historian, Von Ranke holds highest rank. Among his more recent publications are *A History of Wallenstein*, 1869; *The German Powers and the League of Princes*, being a history of Germany from 1780 to 1790, published in 1871; *A History of England, principally in the Seventeenth Century*, 1875, and two biographies of Frederick the Great and Frederick Wilhelm, 1878; and his colossal *History of the World*, which he began in his eightieth year; of this, six volumes are completed, but it is believed he has left notes sufficient to enable his literary executors to prepare another. Ranke outlived all rivalry; he was hailed by Döllinger as *p̄receptor Germaniae*, and Arneth declared that he alone among prose writers had furnished a masterpiece for every country.

GARRETT NOEL, THE FIRST NEW YORK BOOKSELLER—Mr. Noel was mentioned by Rev. Dr. Vermilye, [xiii. 113] in the account of Ebenezer Hazard, the first

Postmaster-General, as his partner in business for several years. We hear of Noel as a bookseller in New York, as early as about 1755, and for many years thereafter. Previously, the bookselling of the city seems to have been done exclusively at the newspaper printing offices. Until quite recently Garrett Noel's birth-place and family origin have eluded every clew within our reach. But we now learn, from Mr. A. L. McDonald, his great-grandson, that he came hither from Cadiz, Spain, in 1750, with one son and his daughter Mary, who, in 1763, married Anthony Lispenard Bleeker of New York. Their mother, a Spanish lady, died in Spain. Their father married secondly, Experience Young, of this city, a member of the Wall Street Presbyterian Church. Garrett Noel removed to Elizabethtown, New Jersey, towards the Revolutionary period, where, as stated in the late Rev. Dr. Hatfield's history of that place, he died in 1776, in his sixty-sixth year. His house there, once the abode of Colonel Elias Boudinot, the first President of the Continental Congress, and also of the American Bible Society, is still standing and in fine preservation.

W. H.

SIR WILLIAM PEPPERELL'S RING—On Thursday, as D. H. Bemis, Jr., was plowing near his father's house, on the Neck in Lancaster, he saw something shining on the ground, and upon searching, he found a gold mourning or funeral ring inscribed, "Sir William Pepperell, Baronet, July 6th, 1759, aged 63 years." Hereby hangs a tale: This same Sir

William Pepperell was commander of the expedition from Boston which captured Louisburg, Cape Breton, from the French in 1745, and for which he received his title. In that expedition were several Lancaster men : among them Colonel Samuel Willard and his son, Captain (afterwards Colonel) Abijah Willard, were intimate friends of Sir William, and lived in the house now owned and occupied by Dr. Charles Nichols. It is supposed that this ring was given to this Colonel Abijah or some other of Pepperell's friends and lost at this place. It must have lain where found for considerably more than 100 years, as the Willards were Tories, and left the country at the time of the Revolution.—*Clinton Courant.*

SALEM CUPBOARDS—In the quaint little work on "Old Salem," by Eleanor Putnam, recently edited by Arlo Bates, we find the following curious paragraph : "There were cupboards in Salem. They were, moreover, real cupboards ; no after-thoughts, built across the end of an entry here or the corner of a room there—places into which to huddle umbrellas and overcoats, or to hustle

mending and children's litter out of the sight of visitors. Salem cupboards were always intentional. The builder understood his responsibility, and acted accordingly. The housewife regarded her cupboards as the inner and most sacred portion of her trust. It was no light task even to keep the keys always counted and polished. As for losing one, or forgetting which was which, that would indicate a mind so utterly frivolous that one could hardly conceive of it.

"It took no ordinary brain to keep watch and ward over these cupboards. They were tall and narrow beside the fire-place, or low and chubby above it ; they lurked behind the wainscoting like Polonius back of the arras. One of them was to be reached only by a step-ladder ; another jolly pair occupied crannies under two deep window-seats. In one house was a cupboard which pretended to be solid wall, but was really a deep recess for the concealment of fire-arms ; and in yet another was a narrow closet about which hung the horror of an old Geneva-like legend of smothering to death. There was literally no end to the number and variety of Salem cupboards."

QUERIES

JOEL BARLOW AND THE SCIOTA LAND COMPANY—In the *Life and Letters of Joel Barlow*, Mr. Todd, in the chapter devoted to the above-mentioned subject, says : "It is also proper to state that Colonel Benjamin Walker, who, in 1790, was sent to France by the trustees to investigate Barlow's proceedings, returned a report completely exonerating him." Was this report ever published ? If not,

where is it ? I have paid a good deal of attention to this subject, but never before heard of it. It seems to me that Barlow's biographer has been singularly remiss, in not giving the report, if, by so doing, he could have removed the cloud which has so long hung over the memory of Joel Barlow. Who was Colonel Benjamin Walker ?

I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY—*To the Editor of the Magazine of American History*: Has not the time arrived for a Biographical Dictionary which will give something more than a barren outline of facts and figures?

America ought now to produce a work wherein persons worthy of being cited shall be grouped with other members of same family who have distinguished themselves. This would show the qualities of each group, as well as those of the individual, and indicate how far intellectual heredity prevails.

JOHN MEREDITH READ

FLAG AT HALF-MAST—*Editor of the Magazine of American History*: Can any of your readers tell me the origin of the custom of putting the flag at half-mast for affliction, and how the term "scandalizing the yards" was brought to indicate the same thing? "HEYWARD"

June 9, 1886.

THE WAR-SHIP JASON—*Editor Magazine of American History*: The war-ship Jason, of 64 guns, was one of the vessels

that composed the French fleet that bombarded Cornwallis out of his works at Yorktown, Virginia, in 1781. Does anybody know the names of her officers?

JOHN D. MCCORMICK

TRENTON, NEW JERSEY, June 7, 1886.

AMERICANS ON GUARD—When and by whom was the order given, "Put none but Americans on guard?"

P. STUYVESANT

June 10, 1886.

ARISTOCRATIC—The question has been asked of me which family in this country, *i. e.*, American Colonial family, is the oldest and most aristocratic. Perhaps some of your readers can answer this query.

R. H. M.

CHARLESTON, S. C., June 7, 1886.

THE STAMP ACT CONGRESS—In what building did it hold its sessions in New York in 1765? The question has arisen whether the City Hall in Wall Street was or was not the scene of the important sessions of this body of patriots? Will some one kindly give the desired information?

S. A. T.

REPLIES

THE TRENT AFFAIR [xv. 559]—*Editor Magazine American History*: In your June number there is a paper by Hon. Charles K. Tuckerman, in which he stoutly claims that the United States did not eat "humble pie" in the "Trent affair," but adroitly led the British Government to concede that the principle advocated by the United States against visitation and search on the high seas was the true principle of international law. As I remember the events and dip-

lomatic intercourse relating to that affair, there was no concession of that kind, and nothing determined as to the right of visitation and search. What was determined was that the persons of *diplomatic agents* were not, by rules of international law, liable to seizure as contraband of war, although the persons of military men on a neutral vessel might be liable to such seizure. The United States conceded that their naval officer, Commodore Wilkes, had made a mis-

take, and wisely and graciously acknowledged it by returning Messrs. Slidell and Mason. In that point of view they did—according to Mr. Tuckerman's expression—eat a little "humble pie."

J. W. G.

OLDEST CHURCH EDIFICE [xv. 615]—Hingham, Massachusetts, has a meeting-house still in use, which was first occupied January 8, 1682. This is the oldest in New England, certainly, and it has been said to be the oldest in the United States. A local name for it is "The Old Ship." Nason gives a cut of it in his *Gazetteer of Massachusetts*, p. 261. G.

DUDE [xv. 615]—The following explanation of this word shows that it is not of recent origin. We quote the following letter from the *New York Evening Post*:

"SIR: Will it not surprise you and your readers to learn, as it did me to discover, that ancient Rome in the days of Terence had its 'dudes,' and called them even by the same name? In the '*Eunuchus*' of Terence, act iv., scene iv., l. 15, it is written :

'Ita visus est
Dudum quia varia veste exornatus fuit,'

which literally translated into English would read, 'He seemed a dude, because he was decked out in parti-colored clothes,' or still more literally 'in a vest of many colors.'

"The fact that he was called Dudum rather than Dudus (masculine) implies much as to his general public estimation even in that early age. I can find no mention of him in Juvenal, where we might expect to find him above all other

places. Perhaps Juvenal himself was a dude; Rome was full of them then."

NICHOLAS E. CROSBY
116 EAST NINETEENTH STREET

THE BATTLE OF CROSS KEYS—Editor Magazine of American History: In the interesting and well-written article on Cross Keys [xv. 483] in your May issue, there are one or two errors. On page 489: The forces of Fremont and Ewell at Cross Keys were not "about the same." Ewell's line was formed with Trimble on the right and Stewart on the left. Elzey's brigade was in reserve in rear of the center. Ewell had in these commands less than 5,000 men. Subsequently Patton's brigade (800 men) and Taylor's (possibly 2,500 men) were sent to reinforce him; but Taylor did not become engaged. Fremont reports his force (which had been over 14,000 on May 31) as reduced to 10,500. Bayard's cavalry, which was then with him, made it over 11,000. On page 490 Trimble is spoken of as having been reinforced "from Taylor's brigade and by two regiments from Elzey's." Elzey's regiments were all that joined Trimble before the contest was over. So again, page 491, "part of Taylor's brigade" is said to have been "almost annihilated" by Dilger's battery. The "part of Taylor's brigade" which was sent to Trimble's assistance was not engaged at all and lost not a single man. Two of Taylor's regiments were sent to the other wing—Confederate left—to oppose Schenck's movements. They were not engaged either, but being exposed to the fire of the Federal artillery, lost two men killed and fifteen wounded. W. ALLAN

MCDONOUGH, MD., May 30, 1886.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the stated meeting, May 4, numerous additions to the library and cabinet since the previous meeting were reported by the librarian. A memorial notice of the Society's valued associate, the late Mr. John B. Moreau, prepared at the request of the Executive Committee, by Mr. Benson J. Lossing, was read by Dr. George H. Moore. The paper of the evening was furnished by the Hon. James W. Gerard, on "The Dongan Charter to the City of New York of 1686; its Two Hundredth Anniversary." The history of that important instrument and the effects of its provisions were succinctly and clearly traced to the present time. Like Mr. Gerard's other researches into the early history of New York, now in the libraries of scholars, the paper possessed great historical value, which renders its preservation in printed form highly desirable.

At the June meeting, in a paper entitled "How the Church of England was established within the Province of New York," the Society was favored with an able monograph by Mr. Edward F. De Lancey, containing the results of his studies and his views on this interesting subject. His paper will form a valuable part of the elucidation of our early ecclesiastical history.

Among the donations, the librarian reported an important accession to the Society's collection of early New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania Laws, the gift of Miss Charlotte H. Mount and Miss Susan Mount, of this city, including among others the following volumes,

the historical value of which will at once be recognized: *Laws of the Province of New York, 1691-1709*, printed at New York, by William Bradford, 1710; *Laws of the Province of New Jersey, 1703-1743*, printed by William Bradford, Andrew Bradford, and Samuel Keimer, New York, Philadelphia, and Burlington; *Charter of New York City*, printed by Zenger, 1735; *Laws and Ordinances of New York City*, printed by William Bradford, 1731; *Session Laws of the Province of New York, 1737-1746*, printed by Zenger, Bradford, and Parker, New York, 1738-1746; *A Collection of Charters and other Public Acts of the Province of Pennsylvania*, printed by Franklin, at Philadelphia, 1740.

The next meeting of the Society will be held on the 5th of October.

NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The sixty-fourth annual meeting of this Society was held in the Society's building, at Concord, June 9, the President in the chair.

The reports of officers were presented, by which it appeared that the funds of the Society amount to \$8,739.24; and the volumes in the library number 10,385. Various gifts were received and acknowledged; among which were the correspondence of the late Dr. John Farmer, and a series of biographical sketches in manuscript, composed by the late Governor William Plumer.

A resolution of approval of the proposal of Mr. B. F. Stevens, of London, to copy for publication the manuscripts in the archives of Europe relating to

the American Revolution, and recommending that the same be undertaken by the Government of the United States, was adopted. The following list of officers were chosen for the coming year: President, Charles H. Bell; Vice-Presidents, J. E. Sargent and John M. Shirley; Recording Secretary, Amos Hadley; Corresponding Secretary, John J. Bell; Treasurer, William P. Fiske; Librarian, Samuel C. Eastman; Necrologist, Irvine A. Watson; Library Committee, Amos Hadley, Edward H. Spalding, J. E. Pecker; Standing Committee, Joseph B. Walker, Sylvester Dana, J. C. A. Hill.

The annual address was delivered by Hon. Amos Hadley, upon the subject of "New Hampshire in the historical Van and Brunt," and was a very able and scholarly production. It was voted to hold the annual field day of the Society at Charlestown "No. 4," at such time as the President should fix.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY— The annual meeting of this Society was held in Hartford, May 24, and was largely attended. The report of the Secretary showed that there had been nine regular meetings during the year with an average attendance of ten members. Nine resident and two corresponding members have been elected, and there have been two deaths. The accessions have been ninety-seven bound volumes, twenty-eight manuscripts, and four hundred and twenty-six pamphlets. The use of the library has been double that of last year and the interest in the Society's meetings shows a marked increase. Officers were elected as follows:

President, Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull; Vice-presidents, the Hon. Henry Barnard, for Hartford County; Professor Franklin B. Dexter, of Yale College, for New Haven County; Judge J. C. Mather, of New London, for New London County; Colonel L. N. Middlebrook, of Bridgeport, for Fairfield County; the Hon. J. W. Stedman, for Windham County; the Hon. Robbins Battell, of Norfolk, for Litchfield County; Judge James Phelps, of Essex, for Middlesex County, and Judge Dwight Loomis, of Rockville, for Tolland County. Treasurer, J. F. Morris; Recording Secretary, Frank B. Gay; Corresponding Secretary, Chas. J. Hoadly; Committee on Membership, Charles J. Hoadly, Sherman W. Adams, F. F. Starr, Rowland Swift, J. F. Morris, Stephen Terry, J. H. Trumbull; Committee on Library, Charles J. Hoadly, J. H. Trumbull, Samuel Hart; Committee on Publications, the Rev. Dr. George, Leon Walker, the Hon. J. W. Stedman, Charles Hopkins Clark. Mr. F. B. Gay was re-elected Librarian. It was voted to have the next regular meeting on the first Tuesday of October.

THE LINNÆAN SOCIETY, SCIENTIFIC AND HISTORICAL— The Linnaean Society met in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on Saturday afternoon, May 1st, at three o'clock, and in the absence of the President Professor J. S. Stahr occupied the chair.

The donations to the museum consisted of twenty-four specimens of minerals from Hancock County, Illinois, and from the Lake Superior region, donated by Miss A. C. Rathvon. Specimen of cryolite, from Greenland, donated by

C. A. Heinrich ; twenty-three specimens of minerals from Lancaster County, donated by Dr. S. S. Rathvon, also a specimen (31 x 46 inches) of vegetable cloth or felt used as a dress material by the natives of the South Pacific Islands ; specimen of the American porcupine, donated by Mr. F. E. Ball, and mounted at the expense of the Society, also specimen of the Virginia Rail, purchased by the Society ; six specimens of plants, one of them the very rare Ram's Head Cypripedium, donated by Mrs. S. P. Eby. Mrs. Zell exhibited specimens of old linen cloth, manufactured in Lancaster over a hundred years ago. Professor J. S. Stahr exhibited three specimens of Peach Bottom roofing slate, containing plant impressions. This is the first reported find of fossil plants in this State. The donations to the historical section consisted of thirty-three different newspapers, ranging in date from 1849 to 1871 ; complete file of the *Dollar Newspaper* for 1848, from Dr. S. S. Rathvon. To the library were added numerous pamphlets and current numbers of weekly, daily, and monthly publications, also a copy of the *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, and annual reports of the University of California and Buffalo Historical Society.

Dr. S. S. Rathvon read a paper on the donations to the museum. Professor J. S. Stahr read a paper on specimens of a double Thalictorium Anemoneoides, exhibited by him, and also on the plant impressions in the Peach Bottom roofing slate exhibited by him. D. H. Landis, of Millersville, was elected an associate member. W. J. Hoffman, M. D., of Washington, D. C., a corresponding member of the Linnaean, proposed as a

corresponding member of the same, Comm. Pietro Bernabo Silorata, President of the Royal Society of Learning, Rome, Italy, who was elected.

BERKSHIRE COUNTY HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY—The ninth annual meeting of the Berkshire County Historical and Scientific Society was held at the Athenaeum, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, May 6th. After listening to the annual report of the Secretary on the financial condition of the Society, the election of officers was held. Professor Perry, of Williams College, was unanimously chosen President, which position he has so ably filled for the last three years—who reviewed the work of the last nine years, expressing himself much encouraged in view of the ground covered, and the exceeding value of the papers read before the Society. An invitation was extended, and accepted from Levi Beebe, for the Society to hold its field meeting at his home on Mount Washington. The paper of the day was by Judge L. E. Munson, of New Haven, a native of Great Barrington, on "Montana as it was and is." He carried his listeners with him to the "land of mountains" with its immense area, its skies as blue as Italy, and its falls and cañons surpassing Switzerland in grandeur. As one of the commissioners to review the treaties with the Indian tribes in 1865, and also one of the three first territorial judges, he had ample opportunity of knowing Montana in its infancy, and his account of the vigilantes and the enforcement of home rule in those first trying days, when the Territory was in its swaddling bands, was graphic in the extreme.

BOOK NOTICES

THE GERMAN SOLDIER IN THE WARS OF THE UNITED STATES.

By J. G. ROENGARTEN. 12mo, pp. 175.
Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

A new and original subject wins half the battle for a book, and the substance of this little volume certainly possesses both these qualifications. The facts are old, but the idea of collecting them is new, and appeals at once to the patriotism of our best naturalized Americans. The history of the book confirms this estimate of its intrinsic worth. Read in substance before the Pioneer Verein in Philadelphia, it speedily found its way into print first in the *United Service Magazine* of New York, next, translated into German, in the *Nebraska Tribune*, and next in a pamphlet by the present publishers. The edition was soon exhausted, and it is now issued in its present more complete form. It takes up the story of German-American soldiers from early colonial times, follows them through the old French War, through the Indian troubles, through the Revolution, not omitting the Hessian mercenaries on the British side, and brings them down through the second war with England, the Mexican war, and the Rebellion to the present times, concluding with a long list of officers, whose record covers all the campaigns in which the armies of the United States have been engaged. No other class of our adopted citizens can show such a record, and the Germans may well be proud of the record. More than this cannot here be said. The work of compilation seems to have been well and carefully done, and native Americans cannot do less than gratefully acknowledge the obligations under which they are placed by the brave race that has so freely shed its blood for its adopted country.

A CHRONICLE, together with a Little Romance regarding Rudolph and Jacob Näf, of Frankford, Pennsylvania, and their descendants, including an Account of the Neffs in Switzerland and America. By ELIZABETH CLIFFORD NEFF. 8vo, pp. 352. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1886: Robert Clarke and Company.

This genealogical work, which is handsomely printed on fine paper and well bound, embraces within its covers ninety-four tables of descent, uniting the family in this country with its ancestry in Switzerland. Its index contains some four hundred and fifty names, with fac-similes of old signatures, and coat of arms from Switzerland. The data seems to have been collected with great care, and verified as far as practicable; in many instances certified proofs of state-

ments appear in the book. The name is variously spelled—Näf, Neiff, Naef, Noef, and Noff—in the old records, which must have added greatly to the labor of tracing the descendants in the different generations. The book contains some anecdotes, and is very well arranged for reference. To all who are connected with the family it will be of the first interest, and every public library should secure a copy for its shelves.

THE COUNTRY BANKER. By GEORGE RAE. 12mo, pp. 350. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The title of this suggestive book is misleading in that the volume itself does not turn out on examination to contain directions for book-keeping nor a manual intended to supplement a course of study in a commercial college. It is not designed for financiers alone, though there is many a banker who will find in its pages food for thought that perhaps would not occur to a merely technical mind. Mr. Brayton Ives, sometime president of the New York Stock Exchange, and withal a thoughtful, college-bred man, has contributed an introduction to the American edition that speaks highly for the soundness of its financial principles. Mr. Ives would no more stand sponsor for a third-rate book than he would indorse third-rate paper. A country bank in England is not unlike its sister institution in America, save that it has usually behind it a larger record of individual traditions. A well-managed bank is a certificate of respectability for the community where it is located. To stand well with the bank is the worthy ambition of every farmer, tradesman, and mechanic in the neighborhood, while the bank in turn must stand well with the community or its books will soon tell an unfavorable story. Mr. Rae has a fine literary style that in some mysterious way enables him to present in an acceptable manner a subject that in other hands might easily prove barren and uninteresting.

STUDIES IN GENERAL HISTORY. By MARY E. SHELDON. Student's Edition. 12mo, page 556. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.

The aim of this book is to supplement the work of the teacher, through the application of the scientific method to instruction in history. The author assures us that it is not a history, but a collection of historical materials on subjects about which questions are constantly arising. These materials consist of maps, pictures, lists of important events, men, works, and deeds, tables of political organizations, and extracts

from original sources, including constitutions, creeds, laws, chronicles, and poems. They are accompanied by questions which are of the nature of problems, answers to which must be worked out by the pupil himself from the given data. The book thus serves as a little historical laboratory or museum, in which the student may learn how to interpret the facts of society, and by means of which original work may be done with original materials. One of the greatest charms of the book is the manner in which it teaches the pupil to think for himself. It is alive with facts, and almost any teacher can, with its use, develop in the young mind a good idea of human affairs. We have examined it with care and cordially recommend it for general use. Its tendency is to quicken the intellect and enrich the memory. It is practical in its character, dealing only with the great problems in human history, and ignoring the petty details that weaken the pages of ordinary text-books. It recognizes the importance of learning reasons as well as dry facts; it gives the scholar something to study as well as something to learn.

HAPHAZARD PERSONALITIES. Chiefly of Noted Americans. By CHARLES LANMAN. 16mo, pp. 387. New York : 'Chas. T. Dillingham. Boston: Lee and Shepard.

The popularity of personalities—not "personals," as persistently printed in some of our leading journals, has of late years received abundant recognition in the great dailies, nearly all of which devote a column or more in their Sunday editions to gossip concerning men of the times. These are too often made up by unknown hands in a style that suggests the journalistic habit of making a very slight substratum of fact go a long way toward producing a half column of fiction. Mr. Lanman has had abundant facilities for collecting *bona fide* materials for genuine work of this character. As a newspaper man, as an author, artist, and official in Washington, he has personally met many noted Americans, and his well known "*Dictionary of Congress*" has introduced him to the public as a collector of concise official data. The present volume makes, probably, but a slight inroad upon the abundant material at his disposal, but it contains a large amount of very pleasant anecdotal reminiscence. A few of the names that appear in its pages are Joseph Henry, Washington Irving, William C. Bryant, James Brooks, Winfield Scott, and George B. McClellan, with many others of equal eminence. From many of them there are letters, of others there are anecdotes, and of the work of others, whether artistic or literary, there are criticisms more or less extended. To those who have had personal associations with the subjects the pages will

prove full of interest, and to the general reader they will present in a familiar aspect many famous Americans not otherwise to be met under favorable auspices.

WHERE ARE WE, AND WHITHER TENDING? Three Lectures on the Reality and Worth of Human Progress. By the Rev. M. HARVEY. 16mo, pp. 134. Boston : Doyle & Whittier, 1886.

The historian of Newfoundland is known to the reading public by numerous contributions to the periodical literature of the day. If he were better known than he is it would be for the advantage of the public, for he commands a graphic and entertaining style, and withal has cultivated a new field. His appearance in print as a philosopher discussing the most profound questions of the day will be a surprise to most of those who know him merely as the historian of Newfoundland, the oldest of Britain's colonies. The three lectures contained in the volume are optimistic in tone, and treat of the reality and worth of human progress, in which the author has an all-pervading faith.

THE RAILWAYS AND THE REPUBLIC. By JAMES F. HUDSON. 8vo, pp. 489. New York, 1886. Harper & Brothers.

The reader will probably reach the third chapter of this book before becoming severely interested in, or fully understanding the drift and significance of the author's statements. But with the "History of a Commercial Crime" he will become thoroughly awake; it will prove sufficiently absorbing to induce him to turn back and re-read the portions he has passed over lightly. Mr. Hudson's presentation of the extraordinary abuses in American railroad management is graphic and forcible; he vividly illustrates the evils of discrimination, as in the case of the Hepburn Committee testimony and in the history of the Standard Oil Company. The special privileges given to the latter is what he designates a "commercial crime." He does not show with corresponding clearness how these abuses have come to pass, nor does it appear from his arguments that he is altogether familiar with practical railroad business, or the natural laws which more or less control it. In the fourth chapter he treats of the legal aspects of affairs in connection with the railways; and continuing the same theme under the title of "Public Obligations and Corporate Practices" in the succeeding chapter, he elucidates the manner in which the railways have attempted to overthrow fundamental principles of the common law and have nullified even State constitutions. His chapter on the "Pooling Policy" is brilliantly

written; as also that on the the "Fictitious Element in Railway Policy." But we are compelled to dissent from many of his expressed views in Chapter IX. His remedies seem to us impracticable, and of a nature to destroy the whole railroad business of the country if seriously applied at this time. He says, truly, that "experience can alone reveal the extent of the benefits which new ideas or agencies bring to the world." Yet it should also be borne in mind that individuals have not developed the vast railway systems which have revolutionized the commercial and social character of the civilized world so much as these railway systems have developed individuals. The subject in all its bearings is one of the first moment, and Mr. Hudson has discussed it ably and fearlessly. His book is calculated to stimulate thought and study; and it is to be hoped that the correct principles of legislation affecting the railroads will eventually be applied.

EVOLUTION AND RELIGION. By HENRY WARD BEECHER. Part II. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 440. New York: Fords, Howard & Hurlbert.

It is not altogether clear why this should be called Part II., considering that Part I. was distinctly a series of sermons on a given topic. The only intimate relation between the two is that the second is a miscellaneous selection of discourses bearing upon the same topic, emanating from the same brilliant intellect, and made up in similar shape, so that the two can be bound up together in one portly and beyond question valuable volume. Most of the sermons in Part II. were in point of fact delivered before the series of Part I. had a corporate existence. They are all, however, studies in Christian evolution and as such have an undeniable place in kindred literature. Mr. Beecher touches a subject only to illuminate it with a power that is born of inspiration. His perception of truth in its relation to science is keen, and his wonderful grasp of progress in the march of intellect was never more obvious than in the present relation. His critics may cry out as they always have against his want of symmetry and logic; but these are virtues which he does not claim, yet he is ever ready to do his part toward throwing new light upon old truths, and surely he has few equals in his method of presenting the broad relations of faith that have marked his whole career as a Christian minister.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By GEORGE MAKEPEACE TOWLE. 12mo, pp. 388. Boston, 1886. Lee & Shepard.

It has been the purpose of the author of this

work to present the main facts in the history of England, from the Roman Conquest to the present time, in a concise form, and in a pleasing and instructive style. In this endeavor he has admirably succeeded, and without the sacrifice of historical accuracy in any particular has handled his varied subjects in so skillful a manner that the book has for the young mind the specific attractions of romance. It is such carefully written works as the one before us that cultivate the taste and create a love for history, doing away with the perilous and unnatural craving for exciting and fanciful stories with which the book market of this country is overladen. Healthful reading for our boys and girls is in every respect as important as healthful daily food for their bodies. Parents would do well to bear this in mind. The public should encourage authors who devote their energies to the production of historical books on important subjects suited to the capacity of the budding intellect; books that will leave impressions of past events in their true colors and direct the forming opinions of the earnest reader. Mr. Towle has heretofore done much good work, but nothing he has ever achieved will be found of more real value to the rising generation than this well arranged and charmingly presented story of the ancient, checkered, and modern life of our Mother England.

PERSIA, THE LAND OF THE IMAMS. A narrative of travel and residence, 1871-1885. By JAMES BASSETT. 12mo, pp. 342. New York, 1886: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Persia, as the land of perfumes from the rose gardens of Ispahan, as the land where all the gates open into earthly paradises, with a Peri sitting at each of them, has long been relegated among well-informed readers to the realm of poetic fancy. That there were once lovely rose gardens is perhaps true, but there never was a Persia made up of them altogether, and the Persia of Mr. Bassett's experience is a land with decidedly dark shadows and not too many high lights. The descendants of the Imams have a superb past to look back upon, if they know aught about it, but their every-day life, as it appears to the modern investigator, makes up what must seem to a cultivated Occidental a very barbarous sort of civilization. The pages of the book are full of information of a generally interesting kind. He does not deal to any wearisome extent with the political puzzles that mix up Russian and English interests with those of the Shah, but he tells in a very entertaining way about what he has learned concerning a remarkable people among whom he lived for eleven years. The different tribes, with their curious manners, customs, and traditions are de-

scribed, and truth to tell we wonder that he escaped with his life from some of them to tell his story. To the long list of books of travel and observation this makes a very acceptable addition.

HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL OF THE COLLEGiate REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK. From 1633 to 1883. Second Edition. Revised and enlarged, by authority of Consistory. 8vo, pp. 284. New York, 1883.

Although this volume bears date 1883, it has been issued since the beginning of the present year. The establishment of the school dates back two hundred and fifty years. The Dutch were distinguished for never omitting to provide for the education of their children, and thus we find them in the very beginning of their wild life in a savage country laying the foundation for permanent educational institutions. The first edition of this historical memoir was issued in 1853; with corrections and additions, the narrative is now brought to the close of the quarter-millennial period. It is particularly interesting to note how the school originated and progressed,—“never seeking to become an academy or a college, nor degenerating into the empty shell of a school, having the name without the reality. The sphere of instruction was not large, but it was sufficient. It met the needs of the large class who must always be the bone and sinew of the commonwealth, the multitude who by manual toil earn their daily bread, and who especially need to be guided and restrained by moral forces.” The present condition of the school is given and the course of study, with the names of all who have served as officers of the school since its inception. To this is added a catalogue of the scholars for the past ninety-four years, with the dates of their admission and withdrawal. Thus the possessor of the book will be able to cherish the names of many who have from time to time filled offices of honor and trust in the community. This book is illustrated with views of the little Dutch city in its extreme infancy, the old Stadt Huys or City Hall in Pearl Street, the Garden Street Dutch Church, and several interesting portraits. The proceedings and addresses of the celebration of the quarter-millennial of the institution on the evening of November 22, 1883, concludes the work, which is a valuable contribution to the history of the city.

THE YEAR-BOOK OF THE CITY OF CHARLESTON, South Carolina. 1885. Mayor Courtenay's Annual Review. 8vo,

pp. 392. *News and Courier* Book Presses, Charleston, S. C.

We invariably find something new and interesting in Mayor Courtenay's yearly report of the affairs of Charleston. The facts and statistics are skillfully grouped; thus the progress of the growing city may be traced with ease. In 1884 one-third or more of the contents of the Year-Book were included in an appendix of varied and special historical value. The new issue for 1885 is no less informing on historic themes. One hundred and thirty-five pages are devoted to similar sketches, embracing an Account of the “Stamp Act Excitement of 1765, in Charleston”; “A Historic Sketch of the Huguenot Church, founded in Charleston in 1681”; “Sandford's Voyage to the Province of Carolina in 1666,” and the “Port Royal Discovery”; “An Account of the Administration of Justice in South Carolina from the settlement of the Province to the year 1860; with a list of the Chancellors and Judges during that period;” “Men of the Revolution, the German Fusiliers,” etc.; “Charleston and its Defences in the Late War”; and the “Confederate Home and School for the Families and Children of Soldiers founded in Charleston in 1867.” The volume closes with graphic descriptions of “The August Cyclone, 1885,” and the “Tornado of 1761.” One of the interesting features of the current volume is a group of portraits of the Firemasters and Officers of the Fire Department of Charleston in 1841. Other illustrations and some instructive maps add greatly to the interest and value of the work. The preservation of such important historic material in accessible form reflects great credit upon the authorities of Charleston; and Mayor Courtenay in particular is to be congratulated on the excellence of each successive issue of the Charleston Year-Book.

REMINISCENCES OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, by distinguished men of his time. Collected and edited by ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE. 8vo, pp. 656. New York, 1886. North American Publishing Company.

The personal traits and private utterances of Abraham Lincoln will never cease to be of interest to the American people. This volume is therefore acceptable in the superlative degree. It embraces a series of thirty-three sketches, each written from a different stand-point, by as many of Mr. Lincoln's contemporaries and intimate associates, all of whom are or have been prominent in the public affairs of the country. These reminiscences are of such a character as to elicit universal and absorbing attention. The first, occupying less than four pages, is from General Grant's pen, contributed by Colonel Fred Grant. The second, of forty pages, is by

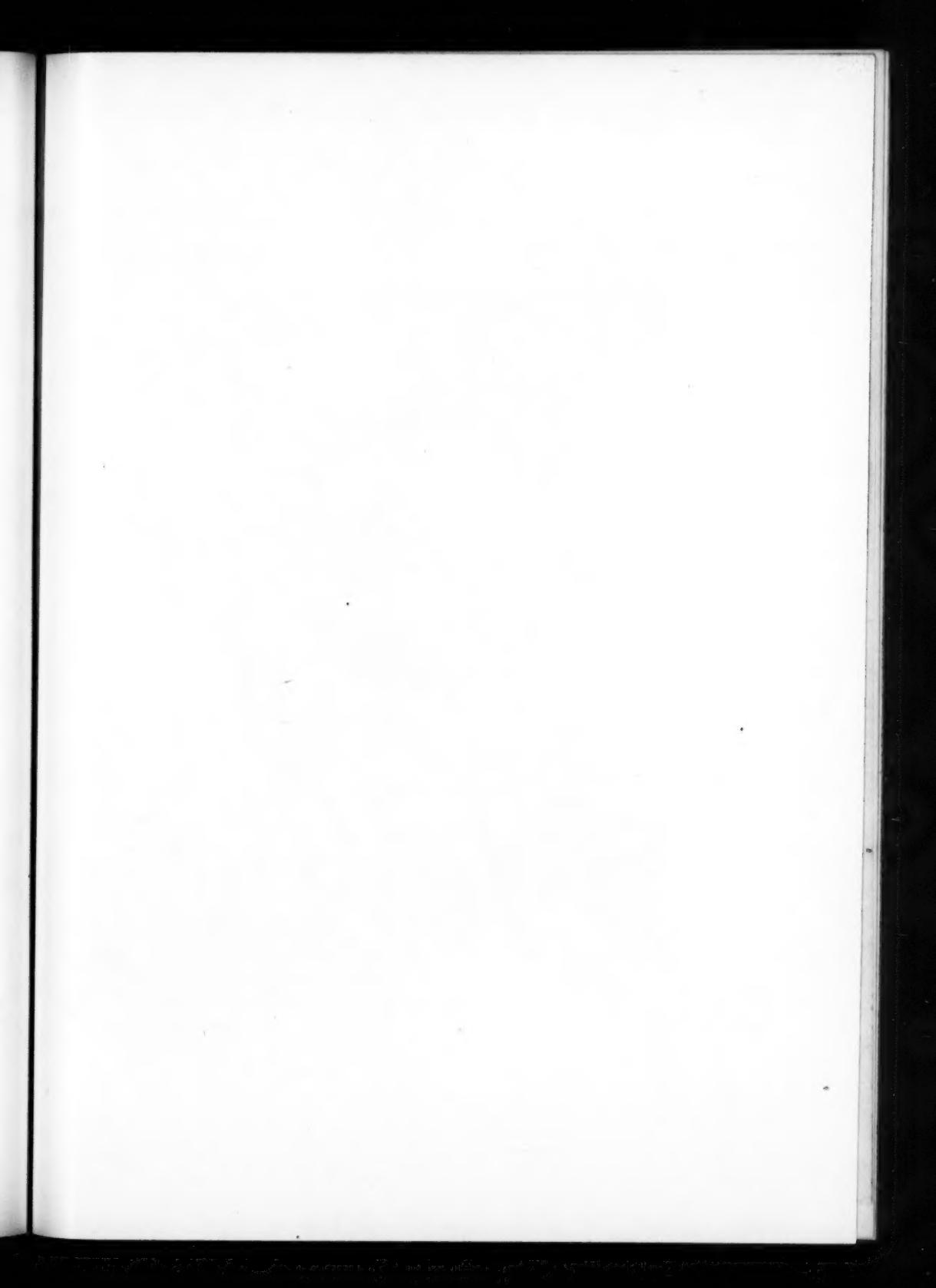
the Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, and touches more or less upon the whole career of the distinguished subject. Hon. George W. Julian, ex-Governor R. E. Fenton, and ex-Secretary Usher follow each with an able chapter. The latter writes: "A short time before the capitulation of General Lee, General Grant had told Mr. Lincoln that the war must necessarily soon come to an end, and wanted to know of him whether he should try to capture Jeff Davis, or let him escape from the country if he would. Mr. Lincoln said: 'About that, I told him the story of an Irishman who had taken the pledge of Father Mathew. He became terribly thirsty, and applied to a bartender for a lemonade, and while it was being prepared he whispered to him, and couldn't ye put a little brandy in it all unbeknown to myself? I told Grant if he could let Jeff Davis escape all unbeknown to himself, to let him go. I didn't want him.'" Ex-Secretary Boutwell's contribution is followed by that of Benjamin F. Butler, who gives a little inside history in regard to the nomination for Vice-President in 1864, which for obvious reasons escaped the news-writers of that day. Fred Douglass describes the incidents of his attendance at the reception of President Lincoln on the evening of his inauguration. Benjamin Perley Poore gives us among other valuable items of information a glimpse of the manner in which Mr. Lincoln received the newspaper correspondents; and how he copied his own long letters to his generals, not wishing any one else to see them. Rev. Henry Ward Beecher tells the reader of his visit to Mr. Lincoln in 1864. He says: "We were in the receiving-room. His hair was 'every way for Sunday.' It looked as though it was an abandoned stubble-field. He had on slippers, and his vest was what was called 'going free.' He looked wearied, and when he sat down in a chair, looked as though every limb wanted to drop off his body." Cassius M. Clay relates many striking incidents, and Robert G. Ingersoll closes a short sketch with these words: "Lincoln was the grandest figure of the fiercest civil war. He is the gentlest memory of our world." No article in the whole series, however, will be read with more genuine interest than that of Mr. Charles A. Dana, editor of the *New York Sun*. He writes: "The last time I saw Mr. Lincoln to speak with him was in the afternoon of the day of his murder. I had received a report from the Provost Marshal of Portland, Maine, saying that Jacob Thompson was to be in that town that night for the purpose of taking the steamer for Liverpool; and what orders had the Department to give? I carried the telegram to Mr. Stanton. He said promptly, 'Arrest him;' but as I was leaving his room, he called me back, adding, 'You had better take it over to the President.'

It was now between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, and business at the White House was completed for the day. I found Mr. Lincoln with his coat off in a closet attached to his office washing his hands. 'Halloo, Dana,' said he, as I opened the door. 'What is it now?' 'Well, sir,' I said, 'here is the Provost Marshal of Portland, who reports that Jacob Thompson is to be in that town to-night, and inquires what orders we have to give.' 'What does Stanton say?' he asked. 'Arrest him,' I replied. 'Well,' he continued, drawing his words. 'I rather guess not. When you have an elephant on hand, and he wants to run away, better let him run.'"

Among the writers of other chapters are General Fry, Chauncey M. Depew, Don Piatt, ex-Secretary Hugh McCulloch, David R. Locke (Petroleum V. Nasby), and Walt Whitman. One feature of this work deserving special notice is a collection of short biographical sketches of its contributors, published in the form of an appendix, accompanied by their portraits engraved from approved photographs. The introduction to the volume by the editor, Mr. Rice, embraces some sixty-five pages, to which is added a fac-simile copy of the original draft of the letter of the Secretary of State to the Minister of the United States at the Court of St. James, in May, 1861, in relation to the Proclamation of the Queen.

THE OLDEN TIME SERIES. Numbers Two and Three. THE DAYS OF THE SPINNING-WHEEL IN NEW ENGLAND; and NEW ENGLAND SUNDAY. Edited by HENRY M. BROOKS. 16mo, pp. 98 and 65. Boston, 1886: Ticknor & Co.

These charming little hand-books are filled with historic material culled from the old newspapers of Boston and Salem, some of it extremely amusing as well as quaintly instructive. Our exalted notions of the virtues of Boston are toned down slightly by reading an occasional advertisement for runaway slaves, a forcible reminder that Boston was a slave-holding city in the early days of the republic. In Salem, we discover "table tipplings" and "mysterious rappings" as long ago as 1789, more than half a century before Rochester became famous in that weird direction. And when we come to read about the New England Sunday, we learn from the newspaper clippings that President Washington was stopped by a "tythingman" in Connecticut in 1789 for the "crime" of riding on Sunday; and it was not until he had explained very minutely that he was on his way to attend divine service that he was allowed to proceed.





MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XVI

AUGUST, 1886

No. 2

MONTPELIER

HOME OF MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY KNOX

In 1795 Major-General Henry Knox resigned his position in the cabinet of the President, and retired to private life in the State of Maine, taking up his abode on the beautiful estate his wife inherited from her grandfather, General Waldo—the only member of that family who espoused the patriot cause. This vast estate, together with the subsequent purchases of General Knox, embraced a tract of land some thirty miles square, lying between the Kennebec and Penobscot Rivers, now mainly covered by Knox and Waldo Counties. Knox soon had the property under good control, tenanted by a loving and enthusiastic people. He chose Thomaston for the homestead town; and in an exceptionally fine location, on high ground, he built his villa. A grand valley panorama view opened to the southward, through which a river coursed its zigzag way and terminated, with its mouth full of islands, in a silvery streak of ocean ten miles distant. The house was very large and of French architecture, with numerous balconies, broad verandas, corridors and alcoves in profusion—and it cost some \$50,000. All its interior decorations were of French design, and at that period excelled those of any other mansion in the commonwealth. Mrs. Knox gave it the name of "Montpelier," in compliment to a family of the French nobility at whose villa, "Montpelier," she and General Knox had once been delightfully entertained.

Two roomy wings, including several out-buildings, extended back from the Knox mansion; the servants' quarters, kitchen, laundry, etc., comprising one wing, and the stables and farm buildings the other. Terraced lawns, walks, summer-houses, orchards, and forest openings surrounded the premises to the water's edge, and helped to form a most pleasing picture. Knox was in the prime of life, only forty-five, when he improved and first occupied this lovely historic domain. His wife, familiarly known in New England as "Lady Knox," was of majestic figure and remarkable beauty, brilliant, talented, and well-informed, and had been for many years a favorite in society, without whom many, beside herself, believed nothing in the social line could be properly achieved. Her presence lent tone and dig-